

SEPTEMBER 1957  
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**THE** *Southwestern*  
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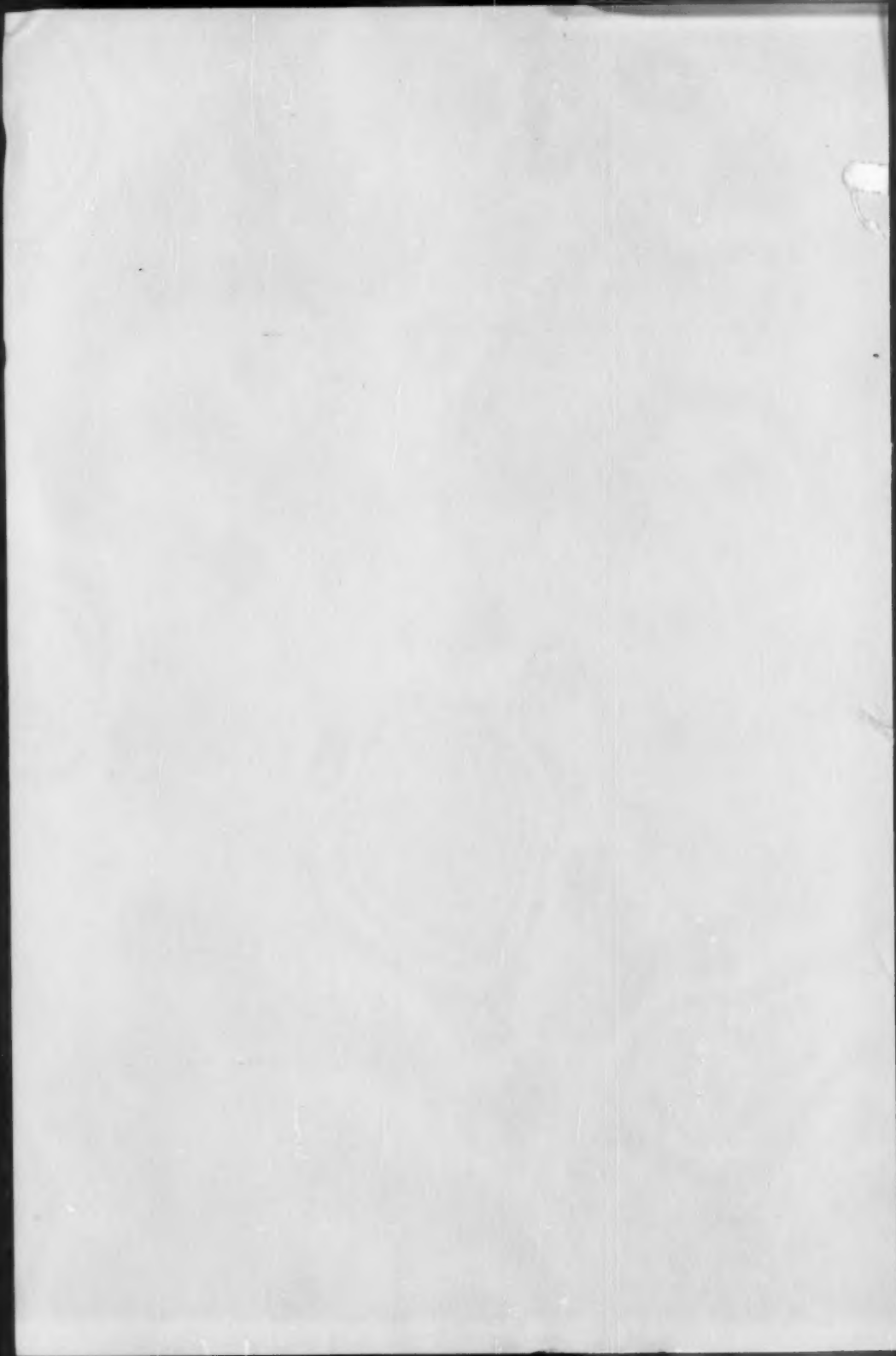
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# Jackson, the Bank War, and Liberalism

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IT HAS BEEN THE PRACTICE of writers in recent years to portray President Jackson as one of the forerunners of modern liberalism.<sup>1</sup> As supporting evidence they have used Jackson's unrelenting and successful fight to overthrow the second Bank of the United States. It is the purpose of this paper to challenge such an interpretation of history insofar as support is gained from the Bank War. That is not to argue that Nicholas Biddle was the great liberal and Andrew Jackson the conservative. It would perhaps be more accurate to state that, within the limited scope of the Bank War period, Jackson does not shine as an apostle of *economic liberalism*.

I would contend that there are two main facets of liberalism: political and economic. Using this approach, it may be argued that Jackson was liberal insofar as his political philosophy was concerned but that he cannot retain the liberal mantle for his economic concepts. It is, of course, unthinkable to proceed with a discussion concerning "liberalism" without making clear what definition of that ambiguous term is being employed. A liberal is here defined as one who, at any given time, understands, and gives voice to, the aspirations and energies of the people. Although this definition has, no doubt, certain defects, it does have the advantage of applicability over time. Thus we need not constantly differentiate between the classical liberal and the modern liberal during the course of the argument.

It should be understood that the methods of liberalism can, and in fact have, changed with time, while the end goal has remained constant. Clearly the role played by government in social legislation today finds favor with liberals, whereas in Adam Smith's or Jackson's time it would have been found

\* The QUARTERLY has learned with deep regret that Harold J. Plous, assistant professor of economics, University of California, Santa Barbara College, died from a heart attack in London on May 2, 1957, while on sabbatical leave to do research on British monetary policies since the Second World War. The article appearing here had been accepted for publication prior to his death.—EDITOR.

<sup>1</sup> See Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1938); also Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, Little Brown & Company, 1946). For a penetrating review of the latter, see Bray Hammond, "Schlesinger's Age of Jackson," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. VI (1946), pp. 79-84.

abhorrent. Yet in accord with the definition given, those favoring such use of government power are considered just as liberal as their ancestors of earlier years.

Although the adoption of the definition given above eliminates the necessity of differentiating between classical and modern liberalism, the problem remains to determine who merited or merits the label of liberal by determining what were or are the aspirations of the people. That there is room for disagreement on this point is sufficiently apparent, and therefore if my argument appears to be in any sense dogmatic it is not my intention that it be so.

To establish the groundwork for the analysis it is necessary to review the course of events that have been labeled "the Bank War" and place them in perspective with the nation's growth and development.<sup>2</sup> If the evidence indicates that the people's wish for economic expansion was deterred or hampered by the Administration's banking policy, a strong case will have been made against Jackson as a liberal in the economic sense.

It is hardly necessary to say that expansion was the keynote of the period. Every history on the period stresses the expectations of economic growth. But it is necessary to examine the status of banking and credit at the time of Jackson's election to the Presidency and then determine whether the policies followed during his two terms of office operated to provide the growth of stable banking and credit facilities that the nation required for this expansion.<sup>3</sup>

At the start of the decade of the 1820's, state banking was in a chaotic condition: "A bank could still be chartered and currency notes issued with no other obligation than the printing bill."<sup>4</sup> During this decade, the Bank of the United States was doing its best to restore specie redemption so that bank notes might be brought back to par. Toward this end, it refused to accept state bank-notes that could not be redeemed in specie. In contrast to the South and West, banking conditions in the East were ideal, and in large cities of the East the bank check became the accepted medium of commercial payments. Unfortunately the relative stability achieved in the East was but an island surrounded by chaos. It could be said that from 1815 to 1828, the currency of the United States was paper based upon specie. Actually during most of this period, the specie backing was illusory. The dollar might be the national unit of reckoning, but in many parts of the country few of the dol-

<sup>2</sup> The work of Ralph C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1903), has been an invaluable reference for this entire period.

<sup>3</sup> For an excellent discussion of the administrative relations between the Bank of the United States and the government, see Leonard D. White, *The Jacksonians* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1954), Chap. XXIV.

<sup>4</sup> Shultz and Caine, *Financial Development of the United States* (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937), p. 182.

lars in circulation were worth a dollar. Instead of one national currency, there were a host of competing currencies of various and fluctuating values. That specie was not evenly distributed was evident from the fact that every newspaper of the period published "Note Tables" to inform their readers of the current discount values of the various state banks. To students of this era there is little doubt that, excepting in the East, whatever monetary stability existed or whatever hope there was for greater stability in the future was due to the Bank of the United States.<sup>5</sup>

Yet this was not the view taken by Jackson, whose basic orientation to the Bank was for the most part negative. As early as 1817, he had opposed the admission into Tennessee of branches of the Bank of the United States and later approved of a state law that imposed a prohibitive tax of \$50,000 a year on such branches. So far as can be ascertained, Jackson distrusted all banks. In an oft-cited letter to Biddle, dated November, 1829, Jackson had written "he didn't think Congress had the right to charter a bank outside of Washington, D.C., and that he did not dislike Biddle's bank more than others but that ever since he read the history of the South Sea Bubble he had been afraid of banks."<sup>6</sup>

Another reason for Jackson's antipathy toward the Bank of the United States was his belief that it was unconstitutional. This was despite the fact that Chief Justice John Marshall had rendered the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court in *McCulloch vs. Maryland* in 1819 that the Bank stood within the bounds of the Constitution. Jackson's continued objection to the Bank on constitutional grounds even after the Court had wrapped it up in legality might be explained by two facts. First, Chief Justice Marshall and the Bank's counsel in the case, Daniel Webster, were ardent Federalists; hence their political orientation was anathema to Jackson. Furthermore, the clarity of the "implied-powers" doctrine employed by the Court raised the hackles on strict constructionists such as Jackson. Second, a decision of the Court—even a unanimous decision—did not in those days carry the respect and the feeling of finality that are currently given to that body's deliberations.

A further basis for Jackson's distrust of the Bank was to be found in

<sup>5</sup> To understand why this was so one must remember that the redemption of bank notes in specie was a practice generally frowned upon and as a result was unusual rather than customary. This, coupled with the fact that deposits were little used and no uniformity of reserves existed, encouraged the state banks to expand their note issues to the maximum for greatest profit. When and if an unusual demand for specie was made upon them, they turned to the Bank as lender of last resort. The only restraint imposed on the state banks was by the Bank of the United States, which presented their notes for specie redemption. Thus it was the Bank of the United States, acting as the central bank, that not only provided specie in time of emergency but also tended to reduce the excessive issue of state bank-notes.

<sup>6</sup> As cited in W. MacDonald, "Jacksonian Democracy, 1829-1837," *The American Nation, A History*, ed. A. B. Hart (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1906), Vol. XV, p. 120.

the ownership distribution of its stock. Control of the Bank was vested in the Eastern section of the country, with some 11.5 per cent of the stock held by foreigners. Jackson was not above arousing the fears of the people by the specter of foreign control over the nation's monetary system, though, as he well knew, foreign stockholders were deprived of the right to vote their stock. Opposition to the Bank on the part of Jackson's Western followers did not stem from their lack of stock ownership. Rather they disliked it for the very reason that Jackson should have appreciated it: the Bank's policy of redeeming state bank-notes in specie and thereby attempting to restrain the note issues of the state banks. The Westerners, for the most part, did not distrust cheap money; in fact, they wanted it. Their dislike of the Bank did not come from the Jeffersonian fear of bank monopoly, as did Jackson's, but simply from a farmer-debtor desire to throw off restraints on the local issue of paper that they felt would ease their position.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to the clamor of the West for more and more banks to supply easy money, the working people of the East were being led to take an anti-bank position for a different reason. In large measure their antagonism toward all banks stemmed from being paid their wages in highly depreciated notes of state banks. The low purchasing power of such notes apparently turned the workers more against the banks than against their employers, who had deliberately sought out the cheapest money. Further, the workers did not distinguish in their hatred between the wildcat type of bank and the Bank of the United States, which was trying to stabilize the currency.

Here was one of the most fascinating aspects of the Jacksonian period. Powerful segments of the population in the East, South, and West were bitterly opposed to the Bank of the United States but, in the main, for diametrically opposite reasons. Yet these same segments were united behind Andrew Jackson, whose views, to the extent that they were known, coincided more with the hard-money advocates of the East than with the cheap-money philosophy of his traditional supporters in the South and West:

The essential incompatibility between cheap money and hard could be somewhat concealed in the clamor of the crusade [against the Bank of the United States]. Yet that incompatibility remained, and it came to represent increasingly a difference between the Western and Eastern wings of the party, as the state banking group gradually abandoned the Jackson ranks. It was, indeed, a new form of the distinction between Western and Eastern reading of "equality." The West, in its quest for political democracy and home rule, did not object to paper money under local control, while the submerged classes of the East, seeking

<sup>7</sup> Schlesinger, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 78.

economic democracy, fought the whole banking swindle, as it seemed to them, root and branch.<sup>8</sup>

Turning now to the Bank War itself, it is interesting to note that the first blow was struck in the new President's first message to Congress. In December, 1829, after giving some praise to the Bank for assisting the Treasury in the management of the national debt, the President then countered by saying, "Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow citizens, and it must be admitted by all that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency."<sup>9</sup> Jackson decided that in his 1830 message to Congress he would outline his concept of a bank as a branch of the Treasury. He pointed out that the states would be strengthened by having in their hands the means of furnishing the local paper currency through their own banks, while the Bank of the United States, though issuing no paper, would check the issues of the state banks by taking their notes in deposit and for exchange only so long as they continued to be redeemed with specie.

It is hardly surprising that many agreed with the President about the necessity of curbing the powers of Biddle's bank and at the same time expressed little interest in a bank to be established in accordance with his views. After all, what the Western and Southwestern sections of the country objected to most in the Bank of the United States was its attempt to curtail state bank-note issues by demanding redemption in specie, and this was exactly the mechanism suggested by Jackson as a means of keeping the state bank-note issues in line. It is a measure of Jackson's popularity that his hard-money proposal was not vehemently denounced but only ignored by his traditional cheap-money followers.

Bank adherents naturally were depressed by Jackson's message but felt strongly that they could reach a meeting of minds with him by agreeing to certain amendments to the Bank's charter. Their hopes were given a fillip by the Cabinet changes that took place in May and June of 1831. Only one of the new appointees, Roger Taney, the Attorney General, was known to be against the Bank. The other appointees started discussions immediately with the end in mind of finding middle ground on which opponents and proponents of the Bank might agree on a new charter. It appeared that their attempts might be succeeding, for the President, in his third message to Congress, contented himself by mentioning that his views toward the Bank remained unchanged but that he would leave further attention to the representatives of the people.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> William Graham Sumner, *Andrew Jackson* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1899), p. 281.

The pace of the struggle quickened again with the nomination in December, 1831, of Henry Clay for President. Many historians hold that it was the pressure put on Biddle by Clay and Daniel Webster, both bitter foes of Jackson, that led to the early submission of the memorial to Congress for the recharter of the Bank of the United States on January 9, 1832. This view maintains that Clay needed a strong issue to arouse the nation if he was to have a chance in the campaign. It must be realized that the Clay forces were quite disturbed by the mild tone used for the Bank in the President's last message as well as by the shifts in the Cabinet. If, as it seemed at the time, Jackson and Biddle might settle their differences, Clay would be left in the cold, with no major issue on which to wage his campaign.

The evidence indicates that Clay cared less for welfare of the Bank than for his own political chances, for he must have known that Jackson was not the man to be goaded into signing the charter for fear of the outcome of the election. He must also have known that the National Republicans lacked adequate support to overturn a veto in the Congress. His goal, then, might well have been to provoke from Jackson such an intemperate veto message that the nation would turn from the Democrats to the National Republicans. If Clay's reasoning did follow such a pattern, he was correct on one count: the message was intemperate from an intellectual viewpoint, but unfortunately that seemed to enhance its popularity.

Even after the petition for recharter had been made, it seemed for a time that the whole issue might be settled prior to the election. Edward Livingston, who had joined Jackson's Cabinet in 1831 as Secretary of State, had a significant interview with Biddle on February 22, 1832, in which he presented the conditions on which Jackson presumably was willing to assent to charter renewal. Both Biddle and Senator Thomas Benton were well aware that the President would be more than happy to postpone a decision on the Bank if at all possible. To provide that excuse, Benton, who was the Bank's bitterest critic in Congress, arranged to have a friend introduce a resolution in the House of Representatives requesting an investigation into many alleged violations of the Bank's charter. Livingston, realizing that to press ahead for recharter in the face of such an investigation would go counter to the President's mood and further would make it appear that the pro-Bank forces could not withstand the light that such investigation might shed on the Bank's operation, requested Biddle to withdraw the charter application until the investigations were completed.

At this point, Biddle was faced with a terrible dilemma. If he acceded to the Administration's request, it would serve only to delay recharter consideration; if he pressed ahead, he was sure to antagonize Jackson and the public. He decided to go ahead with it, for he felt certain that no House committee appointed by Speaker Stevenson, who was opposed to the Bank,



would give that institution a bill of health sufficiently clean to assuage Jackson's fears. The report of the investigation did reinforce Jackson's distrust, though its weakness caused Niles to belittle its contents to the extreme:

Some who had doubts as to the correctness of its [the Bank's] proceedings, were satisfied by the shewings of its enemies . . . that all was right!—and others, who were opponents of the institution, have laughed so much at the solemn arraignment of the charges and statements against it, as to become quite good humored, and now feel entirely willing to renew its charter, with a few modifications of the present powers of the institution.<sup>10</sup>

Instead of dissolving the fear of the Bank in good-humored laughter, the report amplified fears and determined the President's future action.

The recharter bill passed the House on June 11, and the Senate on July 3, and was ready for the President's veto message on July 10, 1832. The voting in the Congress confirmed the opinion that the determined opposition to the Bank was to be found in the South and Southwest. The unique aspect of the President's veto message was that it was the first time in the nation's history that a veto had been joyfully received, albeit for different reasons, by all shades of public opinion. Those favorable to the Bank thought it to be such a weak and blatantly false statement that Biddle had thirty thousand copies of the message printed, to be distributed as an argument for the Bank. On the other hand, Administration supporters were delighted with the mass appeal the message was sure to have since it played on the fears of foreign ownership and contended the rich would be made richer. This type of argument was certain to gain wide support for the simple reason that there were many more citizens than foreigners in the nation and, further, that those in the low-income group are always in the majority.

Nonetheless, the message did contain a few valid criticisms of the proposed charter. For example, one might agree with Jackson that if the Bank was to receive a cloak of authority from the government (as well as its deposits), which would tend to make it a profitable concern, why should not the stock be offered publicly at a price determined by the market? The excess received over par could then be taken by the government in payment for charter privileges. Since the original shareholders of the Second Bank invested in it knowing it had a life of only twenty years, there would be no legitimate cause for complaint on their part.

Also, one need not question the implied-powers doctrine cited in *McCulloch vs. Maryland* to question the propriety of permitting the Bank to avoid completely taxation by the states. It should be borne in mind that the Bank's profits—according to those favorable to the Bank—were made not

<sup>10</sup> Niles' *Weekly Register*, Vol. XLII, p. 209.

on the government's accounts but on the Bank's private dealings, and hence might reasonably be taxed by the states without obfuscating government fiscal policy. Granted these exceptions, the fact remains that the veto message was more a demagogic appeal for mass support in the coming election than a constructive critique of legislation passed by the Congress.

Lacking the necessary votes in Congress to override the veto, the anti-Jacksonites were optimistic that with the Bank as the paramount issue of the Presidential campaign, the nation would support Clay and thus retain the Bank. The election results showed how badly they had misjudged the temper of the people. Jackson received 219 electoral votes to Clay's paltry 49.

The twilight of the Second Bank of the United States was at hand. It is not necessary for our purposes to delve, in any detail, into the final phases of the Bank's collapse.<sup>11</sup> Suffice to say that with the re-election of Jackson the Administration felt that it had a clear mandate from the people to terminate the government's support of the Bank's activities. Certainly this was not an unfair inference from the election. Jackson settled on a policy that would leave the nation without a central bank during his second term of office. This policy was the removal of government deposits from the Bank.<sup>12</sup>

According to the charter, such a course of action could be ordered only by the Secretary of the Treasury, who was then required to submit to Congress his reasons for ordering such a move. While it is true that Jackson had become convinced that the Bank was an unsound depository for government funds, the more important consideration is why he thought so, since the facts indicated the contrary. The most likely reason is that he believed the Bank had used its power to oppose him in the election, and Jackson was not the man to turn the other cheek. The evidence on this point from various authorities is mixed, but, on balance, it appears that although individual officers of some branches of the Bank supported Clay it was not the policy of the central bank to do so. Nevertheless, what Jackson should have thought was far less important in consequence than what he did think, and once Jackson set his mind on a course of action he seldom altered it. It was necessary for him to shift one Secretary of the Treasury and dismiss another before he got—in Taney—one who not only would

<sup>11</sup> For an excellent discussion of the Bank's last stand under Pennsylvania charter, see Bray Hammond, "Jackson, Biddle, and the Bank of the United States," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (May, 1947).

<sup>12</sup> The phrase "removal of government deposits" is somewhat misleading since what it involved was the expenditure of government accounts from the Bank of the United States while new deposits were to be made with state banks. The effect was, of course, the same as if the deposits were physically transferred to other banks.



order the removal but one who had actively urged such a policy as Attorney General.

From September 26, 1833, the date on which Taney first ordered the removal of deposits and designated the Girard Bank of Philadelphia as the government depository, it is impossible to consider Biddle's actions as anything but politically motivated. From that time on, his actions are relatively easy to understand but impossible to condone. He deliberately set about to restrict credit and create panic. The restriction of credit was done in the name of necessity—necessity to wind up the Bank's business by the expiration date of the charter. But the degree of deflation forced by the Bank was clearly in excess of the purpose named. All authorities seem to agree that his aim was to cause a state of panic in which the only alternative would be for the government to relent, restore the deposits, and extend the charter to prevent further havoc. However, by the spring of 1834, any hope that existed for charter renewal was buried. Realizing the fruitlessness of his malefic endeavors, Biddle, after 1834, went about winding up the Bank's business with little trouble.<sup>13</sup> In February of 1836, the Bank of the United States was no longer *the* Bank but merely *a* bank, one of 713 state banks known as the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania.

Starting with the demise of the Bank of the United States as the nation's central bank, the era of wildcat banking began. Hard-money advocates hardly had time for rejoicing over the death of the "Monster" before, to their horror, their vision was clouded and obscured by a veritable blizzard of paper money pouring forth from the now virtually unrestricted state banks. Rising in the Senate on January 27, 1837, Benton protested: "I did not join in putting down the paper currency of a national bank to put up a national paper currency of a thousand local banks. I did not strike Caesar to make Anthony master of Rome. . . . The present bloat in the paper system cannot continue."<sup>14</sup>

Well might Benton, Jackson, and others who joined them in destroying the Bank in the name of a uniform and stable currency complain. In putting down the Bank, they created a vacuum into which all that they detested flowed with increasing tempo. The growth in credit was impressive. In

<sup>13</sup> A psychiatrist might well have concluded that Biddle's personality problems stemmed from his unusual early years. By the age of thirteen, he had completed the work required for a degree at the University of Pennsylvania but was refused the diploma because of his age. By the time he reached fifteen, he was valedictorian of the class of 1801 at the College of New Jersey. At eighteen, he was sent to France to be secretary to the American Minister there and handled important financial aspects of the Louisiana Purchase. He reached the presidency of the Bank of the United States at thirty-seven. For an account of Biddle's early life, see James, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>14</sup> *Register of Debates*, 24th Cong., 2d sess., p. 610.

1830, loans and discounts reached \$272 million, but by 1837, the figure reached \$525 million, and the volume of bank notes had doubled during that period.

The menace of the situation lay in the fact that most of these banks were established not because there was actual capital seeking profitable investment, or even because there was an economic need for their services. In many instances, schemes were concocted by men without capital seeking to obtain credit which would be denied by legitimate sources and fondly hoping to share in the stream of wealth that was expected to flow from the national Treasury. The prospect that a particular bank might be chosen as a public depository, or that indirectly it might participate in the carnival of credit, intensified the notion that was already entertained by those who were desperately in debt that the best way to escape was to join together and make a bank<sup>15</sup>

It is time now to return to the basic thesis of our argument to determine whether the evidence presented warrants the conclusion that insofar as the Bank War is concerned, Jackson did not—in the economic sense—take a liberal position. He deterred and hampered the people's desire for expansion. That considerable expansion and growth did take place during his administration is not disputed. However, the significant question remains whether his monetary policies tended to encourage or discourage the growth that took place.<sup>16</sup> Given the choice between a large moneyed institution on one side of an issue and any other group on the opposite side, there seems to be a tendency on the part of liberals to conclude automatically that the large moneyed institution could not take a liberal position vis-à-vis the other group. Yet if it be granted that the aspirations and energies of the people were favorable to growth and expansion, is it not reasonable to hold that a relatively stable monetary system was more likely to achieve that goal than a chaotic one? That is the point of view taken here.

At first thought, one might conceive of stability and the maintenance of the *status quo* as synonymous. In some contexts this would be correct, and a call for stability might rightly be classed as conservatism. However, in the historical period under review, to ask for stability in the monetary system could not mean a request for the continuation of the *status quo* for the simple reason that prior to the Bank of the United States the monetary system had no semblance of stability. In other words, a currency with but a minimal amount of depreciation, i.e., the notes of the Bank of the United States, was a novel concept in the nation's banking history. On the other hand, the

<sup>15</sup> William Graham Sumner, *A History of Banking in the United States* (pp. 231-32), as cited in Sister M. Grace Madeleine, *Monetary and Banking Theories of Jacksonian Democracy* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1943), p. 65.

<sup>16</sup> For a view of the liberality of Jackson's labor policies, see Richard P. Morris, "Andrew Jackson, Strikebreaker," *American Historical Review*, Vol. LV, No. 1 (October, 1949).

opinion is sometimes expressed that the stability of the currency was not necessary—indeed, it might have retarded expansion in that period of our history and hence the Bank of the United States was no great loss. The argument is made that the pioneers needed only and wanted only a medium of exchange easily obtainable to finance the opening of the frontier. Their concern was not whether the notes were redeemable in specie but was rather with the ability of the notes to buy government land and purchase the not inconsiderable supplies necessary. But this approach is economically somewhat unsophisticated in that it looks at the problem solely from the demand side and assumes that the suppliers' interests were of the same order. It will be granted that for the short run their interests might have coincided. For the long-run development of the country the assumption must fall. Suppliers in the East would not long have been willing to accept paper drawn on the wildcat banks of the West, whose exchange value was always subject to heavy discount.

A further problem caused by the fall of the Bank manifested itself in 1837. By a statute of 1816, the Treasury was required to receive payments only in specie, Treasury notes, or notes of specie-paying banks. This law had been observed in the breach rather than in the observance so far as payment for public lands in the West was concerned. The sales were generally financed in the following manner:

Land purchasers borrowed the purchase price . . . from the local banks. These loans were made in bank notes which the borrowers paid into the government land office. In turn, the land office deposited these notes with a local bank, as often as not the bank that had issued them, and, under the Treasury's depository ruling, was credited with a specie deposit. Actually, an additional bank loan item was thus created balanced by an additional federal deposit, without any change in bank specie holdings.<sup>17</sup>

With the flood of land sales that took place in 1835 and 1836,<sup>18</sup> the volume of specie deposits in the name of the government threatened to exceed the total amount of specie held by the Western banks. This fact, coupled with the passage of the Surplus Distribution Bill, which called for the redistribution in specie of the government surplus to the states on the basis of their Congressional representation, made it essential for specie to be pumped into the Western banks. This was so because the Western states would have benefited little from the surplus distribution compared to the populous Eastern states. In fact, a net transfer of funds from West to East would have been required to accomplish the distribution.

There was another crucial aspect of the problem. Many Western banks

<sup>17</sup> Shultz and Caine, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

<sup>18</sup> Sale of public land amounted to only \$4,800,000 in 1834, but climbed to \$14,700,000 in 1835, and totaled \$24,800,000 in 1836.—Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

that had been designated as government depositories had loaned on long term the moneys received from the government on the assumption that such deposits would not be withdrawn. When it became apparent that the distribution of the surplus would require heavy withdrawals, the constriction of credit in the West became exceedingly severe, with the expected results on a speculative economy. By issuing the Specie Circular on July 11, 1836, Jackson hoped to accomplish two things: first, and most unrealistically, he hoped to restore specie as the medium of exchange; and second, he hoped that by requiring payment in specie for government lands, Eastern speculators and new arrivals from the East would bring needed specie into the Western banks.

It is impossible to determine whether the Circular did bring specie to the West. But it is very clear that it did bring a halt to the credit-buying of government land and created a collapse in land speculation. It further cast a good deal of doubt on the value of Western bank notes since they were no longer to be accepted by the government land offices.<sup>19</sup>

The point I wish to stress is that the operation of a central bank in a developing economy tends to moderate, but cannot prevent, cyclical fluctuations. The absence of such an institution is a clear invitation to monetary irresponsibility that can easily lead, as it did in this period, to panic and depression. In a succinct passage, Hofstadter summarizes the tragedy of the bank conflict:

Biddle, from 1823, when he took control of the bank, to 1833, when removal of the deposits provoked him to outrageous retaliation, had followed a policy of gradual, controlled credit expansion, which was well adapted to the needs of the growing American economy. Had Jackson not yielded to archaic hard-money theories on the one hand and the pressure of interested inflationary groups on the other, it might have been possible—and it would have been far wiser—for him to have made a deal with Biddle, trading recharter of the bank for more adequate government control of the bank's affairs. It would have been possible to safeguard democratic institutions without such financial havoc, but the Jacksonians were caught between their hostility to the bank and their unwillingness to supplant it with adequate federal control of credit. The popular ideology made an unhappy combination.<sup>20</sup>

Thus Jackson, on entering office, found a far-from-perfect banking system but one that had the restraining influence of the Bank of the United States as central banker. He left office, after removing the only stabilizer the state banking system had experienced, with the noise in his ears of printing presses turning out near-worthless state bank-notes that were to confuse and corrupt our monetary system for years to come.

<sup>19</sup> Shultz and Caine, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition, and the Men Who Made It* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948), pp. 62-63.

# Manufacturing, Value Added, and Wages in Oklahoma, 1899-1953

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**B**ROADLY SPEAKING, the main purposes of this article are: (1) to survey the development of manufacturing industries in Oklahoma as contrasted with the surrounding states, and also with the national average; (2) to ascertain the relationship between wages and value added by manufacture (labor productivity); and (3) to outline the factors determining the regional growth, that is, the location of new industries in Oklahoma.

## *Growth of Manufacturing*

In 1900 the population of Oklahoma was 790,000, including those living in the Indian Territory; it was about 1 per cent of that of the nation. From 1900 to 1930, the rate of population growth was greater in Oklahoma than in the United States as a whole, but the censuses of 1940 and 1950 recorded absolute losses in population for the twenty-year period from 1930 to 1950. In 1947, Oklahoma's population was 2,133,000—about 1.5 per cent of the nation's total. Table 1 shows that Oklahoma has never had an average share of manufacturing firms in relation to its population.

Oklahoma had only 495 manufacturing firms in 1899, and these comprised but 0.2 per cent of all manufacturing firms in the United States. Rather rapid gains were made until 1927, at which time 1.1 per cent of all manufacturing firms of the United States were located in Oklahoma. However, Oklahoma was unable to hold this percentage, and the last Census of Manufactures in 1947 recorded only 0.7 per cent located in Oklahoma. The 1947 Census of Manufactures showed that of the 1,740 manufacturing firms in Oklahoma, 643 were in the food industry and 374 in printing and publishing. These two industries accounted for 59 per cent of all manufacturing firms in Oklahoma.<sup>1</sup>

NOTE.—The authors wish to express their appreciation to Professors W. Nelson Peach and Rolf Hayn, of the University of Oklahoma, for several suggestions in preparing this paper.

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. III, *Statistics by States* (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), Tables 2 and 7, pp. 22 and 499.

Not only has Oklahoma failed to obtain an average number of manufacturing firms, but the firms she has attracted have been smaller than the average for the country. In 1947, 75 per cent of the food manufacturers in Oklahoma and 87 per cent of the printing and publishing firms employed fewer than 20 employees.<sup>2</sup> The comparable figures for the United States were, respectively, 69 and 81 per cent.<sup>3</sup> Oklahoma failed to obtain its share of the giants in these industries also, for whereas only 2 per cent of the food com-

TABLE 1

Number of Manufacturing Establishments in Oklahoma as a Percentage of the United States Total, 1899-1947

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Percentage of United States Total</i>
1899	0.2
1904	0.5
1909	0.9
1914	0.9
1919	0.8
1921	0.7
1923	0.6
1925	0.7
1927	1.1
1929	0.8
1931	0.8
1933	0.8
1935	0.8
1937	0.8
1939	0.9
1947	0.7

*Source:* Compiled from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. III, *Statistics by States* (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950).

panies and 1 per cent of the printers and publishers in Oklahoma employed more than 100 employees in 1947, the national average was, respectively, 7 and 4 per cent. Other industries showed the same general picture. In nine out of fifteen major manufacturing industries, Oklahoma showed a higher percentage hiring fewer than 20 employees than the national average. Of the fifteen industries, only four showed a larger percentage of firms employing more than 100 persons in Oklahoma compared with the national average.

In 1899, fewer than 2,500 persons were employed as production workers in manufacturing in Oklahoma.<sup>4</sup> By 1947 the number grew to 44,302. Wages

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Table 7, p. 499.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, *General Summary*, Table 1, pp. 97-98.

<sup>4</sup> As used in the 1947 *Census of Manufactures*, the term "production worker" includes all nonsupervisory factory workers, machine operators, and material-handlers. It excludes all administrative, engineering, and electrical workers.



of production workers increased from less than \$1 million to more than \$100 million during the same period. Of the 44,302 workers employed in 1947, 10,966 were employed in the food industry (almost a third in wholesale meat-packing); 6,352 in petroleum manufacturing; 4,906 in machinery manufacturing, except electrical (mostly oil equipment); and 3,057 in printing and publishing.<sup>5</sup> In 1899, Oklahoma hired 0.2 per cent of all production workers, and the figure increased to 0.4 in 1927, where it remained, according to the 1947 census. Whereas food and printing accounted for 59 per cent of all manufacturing firms in Oklahoma, they accounted for the employment of only 32 per cent of all its production workers.

A different picture of the importance of manufacturing in Oklahoma is obtained if the value-added concept is used. Value added is computed by subtracting the cost of materials, supplies, containers, purchased electric energy, and contract work from the total value of shipments.<sup>6</sup> Value added approximates value created by the process of manufacturing. If the cost of materials is \$600, and the product sells for \$1,000, then \$400 is the value added by the manufacturing process. Oklahoma's value added as a percentage of the United States total increased from less than 0.1 per cent in 1899 to 0.4 per cent in 1919, but the percentage was the same in 1953 as in 1919, though several times, according to issues of the *Census of Manufactures* from 1919 to 1947, it had climbed to 0.5 per cent.<sup>7</sup> The petroleum industry added slightly more to value added than did the food industry, the contribution being 23 per cent for petroleum and 22 per cent for food. Of all Oklahoma's value added in manufacturing, 64 per cent was accounted for by four industries: petroleum; food; machinery, except electrical (11 per cent); and printing and publishing (8 per cent). Only in petroleum manufacturing did Oklahoma contribute more than 1 per cent of the nation's value added in any major-industry group, the figure for petroleum being 4 per cent of the nation's total.<sup>8</sup> Yet even in petroleum manufacturing, Oklahoma did not rank among the top five states; it ranked ninth. However, in no other industry did it rank so well. Oklahoma was particularly deficient in the textile, rubber, leather, electrical machinery, and instrument industries.

Table 2 shows that, with one exception, states contiguous to Oklahoma showed less gain from 1899 to 1947 in manufacturing than did Oklahoma. From 1899 to 1953, value added as a percentage of the United States total dropped from 2.8 to 2.3 in Missouri, from 0.6 to 0.4 in Colorado, and from 0.5 to 0.4 in Arkansas, but rose slightly in Kansas, from 0.7 to 0.8 per cent.

<sup>5</sup> *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. III, *Statistics by States*, Table 4, pp. 497-98.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Compiled from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. II, *Statistics by States* (1950). Also U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Annual Survey of Manufacturing: 1953*.

<sup>8</sup> *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. III, Tables 2 and 3, p. 22.

New Mexico accounted for less than 0.1 per cent of value added in all the censuses for most of the period studied, but has finally climbed to 0.1 per cent. Texas showed the most gain, its figures being 0.8 per cent of the nation's total in 1899, and 2.9 per cent in 1953. Although most of these states showed a drop in the percentage of value added in relation to the total for the United States, absolute increases in manufacturing were made in all

TABLE 2

Value Added by Manufacture in Oklahoma and Surrounding States as a Percentage of the United States Total, Each Census Year, 1899-1953

Census Year	Value-Added as a Percentage of United States Total in:						New Mexico
	Oklahoma	Texas	Missouri	Kansas	Colorado	Arkansas	
1899	..*	0.8	2.8	0.7	0.6	0.5	..*
1904	0.1	1.0	3.1	0.7	0.6	0.5	..*
1909	0.2	1.2	2.7	0.8	0.6	0.5	..*
1914	0.3	1.2	2.6	0.7	0.5	0.4	..*
1919	0.4	1.2	2.2	0.7	0.4	0.4	..*
1921	0.5	1.6	2.5	0.8	0.4	0.3	..*
1923	0.3	1.4	2.4	0.6	0.4	0.3	..*
1925	0.4	1.5	2.4	0.6	0.4	0.3	..*
1927	0.4	1.4	2.5	0.6	0.4	0.3	..*
1929	0.5	1.5	2.5	0.7	0.4	0.3	..*
1931	0.4	1.5	2.6	0.7	0.4	0.2	..*
1933	0.5	1.7	2.7	0.7	0.4	0.3	..*
1935	0.4	1.6	2.4	0.6	0.3	0.2	..*
1937	0.4	1.7	2.2	0.5	0.4	0.3	..*
1939	0.4	1.8	2.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	..*
1947	0.4	2.3	2.2	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.1
1949	0.4	2.4	2.3	0.7	0.4	0.3	..*
1950	0.4	2.5	2.3	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.1
1951	0.4	2.9	2.1	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.1
1952	0.5	2.9	2.2	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.1
1953	0.4	2.9	2.3	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.1

\* Less than 0.1 per cent.

Source: Compiled from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. III, *Statistics by States* (1950). Also U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Annual Survey of Manufactures: 1949 and 1953*.

the Southwestern states. From 1940 through 1953, income from manufacturing as a percentage of total-income payments increased from 20 to 26 per cent in the United States. The corresponding figures for the Southwest were from 7 to 11 in Oklahoma; 9 to 14 in Texas; 17 to 24 in Missouri; 9 to 19 in Kansas; 8 to 12 in Colorado; 8 to 13 in Arkansas; and 2 to 7 in New Mexico.<sup>9</sup> The drop in income from agriculture as a percentage of total-income payments in the Southwest was quite sharp during the same period. Whereas the

<sup>9</sup> These data were compiled from August issues of the U.S. Department of Commerce's *Survey of Current Business*.



percentage dropped from 7 to 5 per cent of total income for the nation as a whole, the decline was from 18 to 8 in Oklahoma; 15 to 8 for Texas; 10 to 8 for Missouri; 19 to 9 for Kansas; 11 to 8 for Colorado; 30 to 20 for Arkansas; and 21 to 8 for New Mexico.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that the Southwestern states were not able to gain relatively in manufacturing was due in part to the continued rapid industrialization of those states already leading the nation in manufacturing. Although the concentration of manufacturing has spread somewhat from the Middle Atlantic states of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey—which accounted for 38 per cent of value added in 1899 but only 28 per cent of value added in 1947—nevertheless, these three states, together with Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, California, Massachusetts, and Indiana, accounted for 66 per cent of all value added by manufacturing in 1947 (72 per cent in 1899). That the industrial states led in practically all types of manufacturing can be easily demonstrated. Of fifteen major manufacturing industries studied, New York and Illinois ranked among the first five in value added in twelve; Pennsylvania, eleven; Ohio, ten; and California, seven.<sup>11</sup> Of the seventy-five chances to be among the top five states in the fifteen industries (5 x 15), the nine leading states carried off the honors in sixty-six instances.<sup>12</sup> In 1899, the states of Oklahoma, Kansas, Arkansas, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado employed 121,617 production workers in manufacturing, compared with 2,401,624 for the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and New Jersey. By 1947, the Southwestern states listed increased the number of production workers by 232,918, making the total 354,535. For the same period, the six leading industrial states mentioned above increased their employment of production workers by 4,651,296, bringing the total to more than 7,000,000.<sup>13</sup>

Just as manufacturing was concentrated in certain regions in the United States, within Oklahoma manufacturing was concentrated in relatively few counties. In 1947, 62 per cent of all the value added in manufacturing in Oklahoma was concentrated in four of the seventy-seven counties (Tulsa, Oklahoma, Garfield, and Kay).<sup>14</sup> These counties, which include the two largest cities in Oklahoma—Oklahoma City and Tulsa—also housed 30 per cent of the population of Oklahoma. These four counties again accounted for 60 per cent of Oklahoma's value added in 1929 and in 1939. In 1900,

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> These were fifteen of the nineteen major-industry groups analyzed in the *Census of Manufactures*. Four (rubber, textiles, electrical machinery, and instruments) were excluded because of lack of data for Oklahoma.

<sup>12</sup> Compiled from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. III; *Statistics by States* (1950).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. III, Table 2, pp. 495–96.

data were available for Oklahoma City only, and that town contributed 15 per cent of the value of products then.<sup>15</sup>

### *Wages and Value Added*

Average hourly earnings in Oklahoma have been consistently below the national average. Table 3 shows the number of industries paying below the national average for various years.

Owing to the changing classification of industries, no attempt was made to analyze the changes over the years. Even though wages tended to lag

TABLE 3

Average Hourly Earnings in Oklahoma as Percentage of National Average, Selected Years, 1933-47

<i>Oklahoma as Percentage of National Average</i>	<i>Number of Industries</i>			
	1933	1935	1937	1947
Under 70	0	0	0	1
70-74	1	0	2	4
75-79	0	1	0	8
80-84	2	2	1	7
85-89	0	2	3	8
90-94	1	2	2	3
95-99	0	2	1	1
100-104	0	0	1	3
105-109	0	0	0	2

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1933, Man-Hour Statistics for 32 Selected Industries*, Table II; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1935, Man-Hour Statistics for 59 Selected Industries*, Table III; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1937, Man-Hour Statistics for 105 Selected Industries*, Table III; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. II, various tables.

behind the national average, the range in rates in Oklahoma from industry to industry was quite considerable. The lowest-wage industry in Oklahoma in 1947 was the leather industry, which paid \$0.59 per hour, compared with the petroleum industry, which paid its production workers \$1.48 an hour.

Table 4 shows annual wages and wages as a percentage of value added in the United States and Oklahoma for major-industry classifications. In all of the fifteen industries, annual wages were lower in Oklahoma than for the United States as a whole. Hourly wages were also below the national average in all fifteen. Interestingly enough, in five of the fifteen industries, value added per worker was larger in Oklahoma than the national average, though the higher productivity did not reflect itself in higher wages. Furthermore, wages were lower in Oklahoma than productivity might call for, for

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1905, Part II, States and Territories* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907), Table II, p. 892.

in twelve of the fifteen industries, wages as a percentage of value added were lower in Oklahoma than the national average. A somewhat similar pattern held for the states contiguous to Oklahoma. Comparisons were made in the same fifteen industries for Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Owing to lack of data, only fourteen industries were used in Kansas and Colorado, and eleven in New Mexico. Of the eighty-four comparisons, annual wages were below the national average sixty-nine times and above average fifteen times.

TABLE 4

Annual Wages and Value Added per Production Worker in United States and Oklahoma, 1947

Industry	United States		Oklahoma	
	Annual Wage	Value Added per Production Worker	Annual Wage	Value Added per Production Worker
Petroleum mfg.	\$3,280	\$11,882	\$3,045	\$12,575
Food mfg.	2,339	8,208	2,066	6,928
Machinery mfg. (except electrical)	2,888	6,279	2,623	7,569
Printing and publishing	3,009	9,745	2,411	9,009
Stone, clay, and glass	2,452	5,684	2,307	5,918
Fabricated metal products	2,661	5,983	2,328	6,929
Primary metals mfg.	2,947	5,708	2,416	5,299
Chemicals and allied products	2,664	11,502	2,325	10,047
Lumber and products (except furniture)	1,979	4,189	1,789	3,920
Transportation-equipment mfg.	2,978	5,946	2,364	5,373
Furniture and fixtures mfg.	2,312	4,873	1,944	4,078
Apparel and related products	2,071	4,567	1,309	3,190
Paper and allied products	2,600	7,393	2,205	7,440
Miscellaneous mfgs.	2,315	5,257	2,115	4,059
Leather-products mfg.	2,081	4,398	1,267	2,933

Source: Compiled from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vols. I and III (1950).

Arkansas did not pay above the national average in any of its fifteen industries; Missouri and Texas paid above average in two; New Mexico in three; and Kansas and Colorado in four. Concerning value added per production worker, twenty-seven times they were higher than the national average, and fifty-seven times below. Even though value added per worker was higher in twenty-seven instances, in fifteen of these, annual wages were lower than the national average. On the other hand, of the fifty-seven instances where value added per production worker was below the national average, wages were also below the national average in fifty-four of these. The lower wages

could be attributed partly to lower productivity, for of the fifty-seven instances where value added per worker was below the national average, wages as a percentage of value added were higher than the national average in twenty-nine instances, though they were lower in twenty-seven. One was identical with the national average.<sup>16</sup>

A lower rate of wages as compared to that of value added does not necessarily mean that profits are higher. Not only must wages and profits be paid from value added, but other costs as well. Wages as a percentage of value added may be low because of the high charges for machinery. A highly mechanized plant with the most modern equipment and few workers would obviously show wages as a small percentage of value added. Yet the company might not necessarily be making any profit, for the equipment charges might be so high that they absorb almost all the difference between sales revenue and cost of materials. As Dickinson has pointed out, wages as a percentage of value added show the lowest ratio in agriculture not because agriculture is exceptionally profitable but because most of the value of agricultural products is attributable to factors other than hired labor—notably land, capital, and labor of independent and tenant farmers.<sup>17</sup>

Table 5 shows how wages as a percentage of value added have fluctuated. Little work has been done in explaining why wages as a percentage of value added increase or decrease over a period of years. Upon examination no clear pattern is discernible. Using the United States figures, wages as a percentage of value added were highest in 1921, a depression year, but were lowest in 1933, also a depression year. If the periods are analyzed according to whether business moved from prosperity to depression or vice versa, of the seven periods from 1899 to 1947 when business improved, four showed an increase in wages as a percentage of value added, whereas three showed drops. In the four periods of business decline, two showed an increase in wages as a percentage of value added, and two showed a drop. Four periods were excluded because, from one census to the next, the country was either in a prosperity or depression phase during both census years. W. Duane Evans has given an explanation for the fluctuations from 1921 to 1923.<sup>18</sup> During that period, wages as a percentage of value added dropped because output per man-hour rose faster than real average hourly earnings. When the Oklahoma figures are compared with the national average, it is interesting to note that of the fifteen changes, the Oklahoma figures moved opposite to the national ones in six of them. That is, as wages as a percentage of value added

<sup>16</sup> Compiled from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vols. I and III (1950).

<sup>17</sup> Z. Clark Dickinson, *Collective Wage Determination* (New York, The Ronald Press, 1941), p. 153.

<sup>18</sup> W. Duane Evans, "Productivity and Wages," in Woytinsky, *Employment and Wages in the United States* (New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1953), p. 68.

were increasing nationally, they were decreasing in Oklahoma, or vice versa. In view of the fact that economists have had an exceedingly difficult time to isolate the relationship between only two factors—prices and wages—a much more formidable task lies ahead with value added, for many more variables would have to be correlated—wages, prices, salaries, interest, dividends, profits, rents, royalties, and taxes.

TABLE 5

Wages of Production Workers and Value Added by Manufacture in the United States and Oklahoma, Each Census Year, 1899–1947

Year	United States			Oklahoma		
	Wages (Millions of Dollars)	Value Added (Millions of Dollars)	Wages as Percentage of Value Added	Wages (Millions of Dollars)	Value Added (Millions of Dollars)	Wages as Percentage of Value Added
1899	1,892	4,647	40.7	1	3	33.3
1904	2,441	6,019	40.6	3	8	37.5
1909	3,205	8,160	39.3	7	20	35.0
1914	3,782	9,386	40.3	11	31	35.5
1919	9,664	23,842	41.8	34	88	38.6
1921	7,451	17,253	43.2	30	80	37.5
1923	10,149	24,569	41.3	33	85	38.8
1925	9,980	25,668	38.9	34	102	33.3
1927	10,099	26,325	38.4	36	102	35.3
1929	10,885	30,591	35.6	41	149	27.5
1931	6,688	18,600	36.0	26	68	38.2
1933	4,940	14,008	35.3	21	66	31.8
1935	7,311	18,552	39.4	24	77	31.2
1937	10,113	25,174	40.2	34	111	30.6
1939	8,998	24,487	36.7	30	102	29.4
1947	30,242	74,426	40.6	105	341	30.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vol. III, *Statistics by States* (1950), Table 1, pp. 21 and 495.

Making a more detailed analysis for one of the industries—petroleum manufacturing—figures are given in Table 6 for the United States, Oklahoma, five states adjacent to Oklahoma, the five states having the highest value added in the nation, and the five states having a total value added within a range of less than 50 per cent above or below Oklahoma's total.<sup>19</sup> In Arkansas, value added per production worker was greatest; yet annual wages were lowest. Other anomalies may be noted. Although Indiana refineries added next to the least value, they paid the third highest annual wages. Kansas added the fourth largest amount of value added; yet only three states

<sup>19</sup> For a similar analysis of the other fourteen industries, see Kehar S. Sangha, "An Analysis of Wage and Value Added by Manufacture in Oklahoma" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1955).

TABLE 6

Annual Wages and Value Added in Petroleum Manufacturing, United States and Selected States, 1947

State	Average Annual Value Added per Production Worker (Dollars)		Rank	Average Annual Wages per Production Worker (Dollars)		Rank	Wages of Production Workers as a Percentage of Value Added
Arkansas	18,670		1	2,812		14	15.1
Michigan	17,624		2	3,235		6	18.4
New Jersey	15,992		3	3,593		1	22.5
Kansas	14,383		4	3,138		10	21.8
Colorado	13,663		5	3,450		4	24.9
Oklahoma	12,575		6	3,045		12	24.2
California	12,394		7	3,308		5	26.7
Texas	12,126		8	3,570		2	29.4
Illinois	11,910		9	3,201		8	26.9
Ohio	10,533		10	3,131		11	29.7
Pennsylvania	10,431		11	3,217		6	30.8
New York	9,264		12	3,174		9	34.3
Indiana	8,612		13	3,460		3	40.2
Missouri	7,386		14	3,013		13	40.8
United States	11,882		..	3,280		..	27.6

Source: Compiled from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1947*, Vols. I and III (1950).

paid lower annual wages. Using the same type of breakdown by states for the other fourteen industries, in 1947, rather large fluctuations in annual wages as a percentage of value added are shown: food manufacturing, 24 to 36; machinery (except electrical), 32 to 59; printing and publishing, 25 to 40; stone, clay, and glass, 33 to 50; fabricated metal products, 34 to 47; primary metals manufacturing, 25 to 64; chemicals and allied products manufacturing, 17 to 30; transportation equipment, 35 to 139; apparel and related products, 39 to 53; paper and allied products, 25 to 38; leather and leather-products manufacturing, 42 to 85; lumber and products manufacturing, 25 to 38; and miscellaneous manufactures, 34 to 66. Part of the explanation for the divergencies is that the figures are for major-industry classifications, which may include widely different types of industries. Within the food industry, for example, are meat packing, dairying, beverages, grain-mill products, and many others. Even in petroleum manufacturing there are different types of plants, ranging from huge refineries to small gasoline plants.

### Conclusions

North, following Izard, has developed the theory that regional growth in the United States is primarily dependent on the products that are ex-



portable from a region.<sup>20</sup> He disagrees with the viewpoint that regional growth will follow the pattern of agricultural self-sufficiency: simple village industries for farmers, but agricultural specialization, industrialization, and specialization of industries producing for export. The history of Oklahoma would tend to bear out the theories of North. Undoubtedly the discovery of oil aided Oklahoma in developing as fast as it did during the first three decades of this century. Of the four leading manufacturing industries, three were clearly connected with exportable products. Refinery products led in value added, though the gains here were not so spectacular as they might have been had all refineries been located close to the source of the mineral rather than being market-oriented. The growth of the machinery industry was also attributable to oil, for almost all the production of machinery in Oklahoma is that of oil machinery. Further, although some of the food manufacturing is for domestic consumption, one-third of the value added is contributed by wholesale meat-packers who ship a large part of their product out of state. Finally, much of Oklahoma's farm land was devoted to the production of the money crops of wheat, corn, and cotton, much of which was exported out of the state. In 1925, for example, ten million of Oklahoma's thirty-one million acres of farm land were used to produce the money crops of wheat, cotton, and corn.

Since the beginning of the 1930's, Oklahoma has failed to gain in manufacturing relative to the nation as a whole. Indeed, all the states in the Southwest with the exception of Texas have shown little progress in increasing their share of manufacturing since 1899. Since Oklahoma and the Southwest started from a much lower level in manufacturing than most other sections in the United States, the fact that they have been able only to hold their own percentage-wise has meant that the industrial states have made much greater absolute progress in attracting new manufacturing firms, hiring employees, and creating more value added. The explanation for the retardation in Oklahoma's progress in the thirties is its vulnerability to the business cycle. Rutledge Vining, in a study of regional patterns of business-cycle behavior from 1930 to 1942, classified Oklahoma with a group of states whose income payments fluctuate relatively greatly.<sup>21</sup> His explanation is that these states are specialists in agricultural and other extractive industries, a relatively high proportion of whose employment depends upon external demand. This demand, according to Vining, has a high income-elasticity, and when investment slackens, the use of the raw-materials output of these states declines drastically. In 1929, Oklahoma's per capita income was 67 per cent

<sup>20</sup> Douglass C. North, "Location Theory and Regional Economic Growth," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 63 (June, 1955), pp. 243-58.

<sup>21</sup> Rutledge Vining, "Location of Industry and Regional Patterns of Business Cycle Behavior," *Econometrica*, Vol. XIV (January, 1946), pp. 37-68.

of the national average. By 1931, it had dropped to 55 per cent. The upturns of 1933 added five points and the expansion of 1937 another four, so that by 1937, Oklahoma's per capita income was 64 per cent of the national average. The war years again contributed greatly to a gain in per capita income. Citing Oklahoma's figures as a percentage of the national average, the increase was from 61 to 69 per cent in 1942 over 1941 and from 70 to 78 per cent in 1944 over 1943. Much of the increase, of course, was due to war activity, increased agricultural income, and movement of population out of the state. Oklahoma was able to hold her wartime gains, and per capita income as a percentage of the United States average rose to 82 per cent in 1949, but had slipped to 78 per cent in 1953.<sup>22</sup>

North raises the interesting question of whether regions must industrialize to become wealthy. He answers the question in the negative by showing that some of our agricultural states have high per capita income. But what of the agricultural states with low per capita income? Better methods of agriculture would obviously increase income. Perhaps more irrigation in the western part of Oklahoma would eliminate the constant threat of dust bowls and increase wheat production. On the other hand, much of eastern Oklahoma is hilly country, unsuited to present methods of agriculture. From 1900 to 1925, Oklahoma was able to increase its acreage as a percentage of the United States total, but since 1930, there have been decreases. The drop in cotton acreage has been particularly sharp. The state accounted for almost 10 per cent of all United States cotton acreage in 1935 and less than 5 per cent in 1950. If agricultural development will not or cannot take place—and there appears to be little hope of such a development in Oklahoma at the present writing—then some other activity obviously will be necessary. Although the amount of manufacturing in Oklahoma is increasing, it has been at such a slow pace that Oklahoma scarcely has been able to hold its own relatively, let alone absolutely. It may be, as North contends, that "ultimately we may expect with long-run factor mobility more equalization of per capita income and a wider dispersion of production."<sup>23</sup> The ultimate, however, may take a long, long time in coming.

Wages in Oklahoma were below the national average in all fifteen industries analyzed, whether computed on an hourly or annual basis. In five of the fifteen industries, value added per production worker was larger than the national average. In addition, in twelve of the fifteen industries, wages as a percentage of value added were lower than the national average. As stated above, these data provide insufficient information to determine whether labor is receiving a fair share of the product. Where wages are a relatively

<sup>22</sup> W. Nelson Peach and Walter Kraus, *Basic Data of the American Economy* (4th ed., Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955), Table 19, p. 21.

<sup>23</sup> North, *op. cit.*



small percentage of value added, at least we know that a sum exists that could be used to pay for either other costs, or, in the absence of such costs, for profits. Further analysis is necessary to determine whether other costs are higher or whether profits are larger. Preferably this should be done firm by firm. Not only should wage and salary comparisons be made as a percentage of value added, but all other costs and profits should be computed as a percentage of value added as well. In the meantime, the figures above, though they are averages rather than marginal calculations, cast some doubt as to whether wages are being paid according to productivity.

# The Interviewee as a Marginal Man

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THIS PAPER seeks to extend knowledge of the research process in the social sciences by examining the role of the interviewee, from whom much social data must necessarily be derived. The hypothesis of this study is that many types of research can be carried out successfully only through using the interviewee who is a "marginal man." This stems from two compelling and interrelated reasons: (1) the informant who is marginal is typically the most willing to co-operate with the researcher, and (2) he is often the most highly qualified to offer a sound perspective on the social system being investigated. The data supporting this argument have been derived from the author's own experience in research situations, particularly those involving foreign students in the United States; from discussions with other social scientists; and from the pertinent literature.

The concept "marginal man" has been much criticized, especially in its specific application to the area of ethnic relations.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it is useful for analyzing and understanding the behavior of informants. The term will be used as follows: a marginal man is one who does not conform to, or adheres only partially to, the institutional expectations of the reference group in question.

Interest in marginality as a facet of social research has been confined almost solely to the interviewer and his role. This has been approached from several vantage points—by Kluckhohn, Miller, Paul, and Whyte<sup>2</sup> among others. They find that if the investigator is to establish rapport he must be somewhat marginal not only to the system he is studying but often also to his own. He should, when attempting to elicit information from quite divergent elements in the social system, avoid attaching himself too closely

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Arnold Green, "A Re-Examination of the Marginal Man Concept," *Social Forces*, Vol. 26 (December, 1947), pp. 167-71.

<sup>2</sup> Florence Kluckhohn, "The Participant-Observer Technique in Small Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 46 (November, 1940), pp. 331-43; S. M. Miller, "The Participant Observer and 'Over-Rapport,'" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 17 (February, 1952), pp. 97-99; Benjamin Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships," in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 430-51; William Foote Whyte, "Observational Field-Work Methods," in Marie Jahoda et al. (eds.), *Research Methods in Social Relations*, (New York, Dryden Press, 1951), Pt. 2, pp. 493-513.

to any one group; otherwise he runs the risk of isolating himself from possible informants who will identify the investigator with their adversaries. It may be necessary for the researcher to shed temporarily the values of his social order which conflict with those of the group under study and occasionally to express purposeful criticisms of his own society as a means of ensuring rapport with his interviewees. Needless to say, the researcher cannot reject his traditional values completely and remain a scientist. These points dispensed with, let us focus attention upon the need for marginality of the *interviewee* in much social research. Although Paul has noted this fact,<sup>3</sup> its theoretical foundations and practical implications have not been explored.

We can better perceive the need for marginality in key informants if we view the research process in light of the social theory that suggests that if a person is highly integrated into, or overidentifies with, a system or a set of roles, he is unable to observe detachedly the actions of others about him. He comes to accept unequivocally a particular point of view and to interpret the behavior of others about him in terms of the small focus around which his own actions revolve. Actually he cannot really perceive what is happening in the more inclusive social order. Hence, he will offer only stereotyped and nonreflective responses to inquiries. In effect, he parrots the more obvious rationalizations and explanations for his actions. Although his observations may be valuable for some types of research, they are of decidedly limited worth in providing a basic understanding of a system's inner machinations. And it is these persons, being the most highly integrated into the norms of the system, who are the most constrained by societal pressures, particularly social-power considerations. "What others think" is an effective curb upon their responses. They therefore deliberately avoid discussion of sensitive or dangerous topics even if they possess some knowledge about them. A corollary of this is that these individuals often hold negative values toward researchers; this reaction is a protective mechanism against a possible breakdown in their role integration. Confronted with discrepancies between the ideal norms and observed behavior, they tend to react strongly against the interviewer, denying the existence of any incongruity.

A social phenomenon with similar consequences for social research can be observed with respect to persons who have moved from one social group to another. To demonstrate their loyalty to the new reference group, they overidentify with it, rejecting their past to the extent that they may even deny the existence of many social patterns of their former milieu. Discussion of the past brings to consciousness inconsistencies and conflicting values that are disturbing to the actor. This type of person should not be considered marginal for research purposes insofar as he adheres rigidly to a set of role expectations.

<sup>3</sup> Paul, *op. cit.*

The most satisfactory informant is that person who has, as a result of his marginal role, acquired some perspective on the social order. Not only is he likely to be more cognizant than other persons of the actual operations of the system, but he is less constrained when discussing them with outsiders. He is, therefore, indispensable to the social scientist concerned with the interviewee's knowledge about a system's operation rather than with individual attitudes *per se*.

There are two principal types of marginal men:<sup>4</sup> (1) the deviant and/or maladjusted person who is either an "outcast" or is partially ostracized by other members of the social order; and (2) the marginal but highly organized and stable individual who, because he does not fully accept the definitions of any one role, serves as a link between systems or between various subgroups within a system. These are admittedly ideal types; some informants may display characteristics common to both categories.

Researchers are quite familiar with the individual who is regarded by others as deviant and/or maladjusted. He has been the direct object of inquiry by social scientists, particularly in the area of social disorganization. Data concerning him are valuable in their own right; for example, one may wish to generalize solely about deviants. Second, knowledge obtained from and about deviant persons can be used to reject or refine existing hypotheses or generalizations with respect to the functioning of the particular systems under investigation. Thus this type of information merits consideration by all scientists, for it is easier to disprove than to prove scientific propositions. Third, study of the deviant and/or maladjusted person in itself provides the researcher with clues or tentative hypotheses concerning the operation of the social system; these, however, must be checked against data obtained from the more normal facets of the population. The scientist can perceive in the deviant person's behavior a number of patterns (simply because they occur in exaggerated form) which may easily escape notice if only the normal elements are investigated.<sup>5</sup> Fourth, the deviant person may be the primary or even the sole source of data from which the researcher generalizes to the total social order, including its more stable members. Although the legitimacy of this last procedure may be denied, it is nonetheless employed in much social research and thus is given special attention below.

The researcher who utilizes the deviant, maladjusted informant as a source of data concerning the typical activities of the on-going system encounters a variety of problems. This kind of interviewee is likely to talk almost too volubly about himself and the social group of which he is nomi-

<sup>4</sup> This typology is suggested by Paul, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Patricia L. Kendall and Katherine M. Wolf, "The Two Purposes of Deviant Case Analysis," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (eds.), *The Language of Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1955), pp. 167-70.

nally a member. He may, in seeking to justify his own position, consciously or unconsciously introduce distortions into his observations. Interviews are for him a form of catharsis; the researcher is the therapist. If the interviewee becomes too closely attached emotionally to the interviewer, he can prove a nuisance and a hindrance in field work—e.g., in a community study—where the investigator may wish to establish rapport with other persons. Potential informants may associate the researcher with the outcast individuals and consequently shun him. Even more critical is the question of representativeness. The investigator needs to exercise caution in utilizing the data these persons provide, particularly when he seeks to generalize to the total system.

We grant the oft-stated drawbacks in using informants who are deviant, maladjusted persons. However, because of their particular role these informants frequently are able to comprehend the workings of a system with greater insight than those who accept a role definition unquestioningly. As a result of the conflicts in their situation, they can perceive relationships that others miss. Moreover, even if the deviant person is "biased," the investigator may be forced to utilize him for certain types of research. Although there are "nonsensitive" areas in all systems, social scientists must face the fact that there exist in societies structural and power factors that make the deviant marginal person the only available source of information on numerous topics. Those who study "preliterate" are seldom inhibited in their activities, for here numerous facets of the social order can be discussed and written about with impunity. However, difficulties arise when informants come to sense that diffusion of the research findings may constitute a threat to their system.<sup>6</sup> Certainly the closer the investigator comes to the centers of social power or to areas that power groups regard as sacred, the more likely he is to encounter resistance. Sociologists have noted in their writings the moral restrictions that impinge upon the researcher.<sup>7</sup> But the interrelationships between social power and social research have not been examined.

That many facets of American society are open to investigation can be attributed in large part to the fact that no single power group has gained clear ascendancy, and many people do not occupy well-defined roles. But even in America there are areas in which data-collecting is extremely difficult. Thus, Sheppard<sup>8</sup> has observed that he sees little likelihood that social scientists can effectively study many key decision-making processes in the

<sup>6</sup> For example, the present-day Zunis. See Watson Smith and John M. Roberts, *Zuni Law*, Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University (Cambridge, Peabody Museum, 1954), Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 7-10.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Joseph H. Fichter and William L. Kolb, "Ethical Limitations on Sociological Reporting," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18 (October, 1953), pp. 544-50.

<sup>8</sup> Harold L. Sheppard, "On the Review of Gouldner's Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20 (August, 1955), pp. 466-67.

top managerial groups of industry; instead, they must rely upon "renegades," like T. K. Quinn, for instance, who have deserted and rejected a system and show little reluctance to discuss its inner machinations. This is perhaps too pessimistic a view. Nevertheless, functional limits do exist with regard to the amount and kinds of information an organization can release to the public about its operations. An organization's social power can be circumscribed if too much is known concerning it. One prerequisite to the maintenance of power is secrecy—i.e., keeping one's competitors guessing about one's strength and strategy. Social scientists must recognize that research findings can affect the internal structure and power position of a system. Furthermore, areas involving moral considerations—e.g., religion and sex—are typically sensitive to the point that social power can be wielded against the researcher who studies the system in question.

Scientists are not alone in encountering roadblocks when collecting data. Newspapermen continually experience difficulties in procuring information on business and governmental agencies,<sup>9</sup> for these organizations recognize that adverse criticisms can follow in the wake of disclosures of their activities. Even Congress inveighs against the executive branch of the government for its policy of secrecy and draws at times upon disgruntled informants for data during hearings.

The fact is that researchers, whether they employ the case-study approach, participant observation, or the social-survey method, can, when it is morally and socially justifiable, circumvent various institutional restrictions by using deviant marginal informants. Consider, for example, Kinsey's extensive survey of sexual practices in America, historically tabooed as a subject of study. He seems to have depended to a great extent for his data upon informants who were quite deviant, given the norms of the total American society. The very fact that they volunteered to be informants suggests that they were less inhibited than others about discussing their own sexual behavior.<sup>10</sup> Certainly a number of groups, such as religious minorities, were underrepresented in Kinsey's sample. Now, the point should be made that a person who is deviant in his sexual behavior may not necessarily be a marginal informant in other areas of action—e.g., politics. Similarly, a criminal is marginal to the total society, but if he is integrated into the underworld, he may be quite unwilling to discuss this area with the researcher; only if he becomes deviant with respect to his criminal associates would such discussion be possible.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., *Availability of Information from Federal Departments and Agencies, Pt. 1, Panel Discussion with Editors et al. Hearings Before Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, 84th Cong., 2d sess.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1956).

<sup>10</sup> Harvey J. Locke, "Are Volunteer Interviewees Representative?" *Social Problems*, Vol. 1 (April, 1954), pp. 143-46.



When social scientists seek data on societies that are in conflict with their own, the function of the deviant informant is given even sharper focus. Researchers at Harvard University who have examined the social structure of the Soviet Union have relied upon individuals who have left the system—who have become socially and geographically isolated from it. In the eyes of their former society these persons would appear to be quite deviant. Yet for many purposes—not just the general characteristics of the populace, but more significantly the study of specific governmental and economic bureaucracies<sup>11</sup>—they represent the only firsthand source of data available.

The deviant, maladjusted informant's place in the research process has been examined. I have emphasized the fact that institutional restrictions upon social research often make this type of person indispensable to the investigator. But when an organization can be studied directly, it is often desirable to utilize the second type of marginal informant—the stable marginal man who displays many of the characteristics of Simmel's "stranger."<sup>12</sup> This individual, by the very nature of his role, is quite detached, objective, and rational. He reflects upon his social milieu in the manner of an amateur social scientist—and for practical purposes may be considered just that. What is highly significant is that such persons are essential to the smooth functioning of social systems and in one form or another appear in almost all social orders. These stable marginal men serve as key channels of information between systems or subsystems that would otherwise have little or no contact. For example, where there are minority-majority group relations in a community, we can observe individuals who serve as intermediaries. Being able to maintain a degree of marginality with respect to the antagonistic groups involved, they invite confidences. Actors in a system will confide in a person only if they are assured that he is not opposed to their personal beliefs and values. And if people are to speak freely, they must come to feel that sensitive data will not be used against them nor passed on to others; the stable marginal man is most likely to satisfy these requirements.

The point to be stressed is that the stable marginal man typically serves as a focal point of communication between systems and as such comes to acquire a relatively balanced perspective. And a concomitant of his position as go-between is the development of perspicacity in observing and evaluating other people's actions. Clearly such an individual should be considered an "expert." What is especially significant for the social scientist is that the stable marginal man, as a result of his experience with diverse groups, is capable of adapting himself to the researcher, an outsider. This type of in-

<sup>11</sup> Joseph S. Berliner, "The Informal Organization of the Soviet Firm," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 66 (August, 1952), pp. 342-65.

<sup>12</sup> Kurt H. Wolff (trans. and ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1950), pp. 402-08.

formant can often achieve an understanding of what the scientist is attempting to accomplish. Sociologists need to appreciate the significance of this person for many kinds of social research.

Informal leaders, or even formal ones in some instances, often function as marginal men, for one qualification of a leader is a sufficient detachment from the values of his own group that he can deal effectively with outsiders. In America many professional politicians carry out this role. Although unable to please all factions, they do manage to maintain rapport with them and to reach an understanding of their divergent views. Some newspapermen belong in this category—e.g., former *New York Times* reporter James A. Hagerty, who won the confidence of many opposing politicians on the local and the national scene.

Although the researcher may not find this ideal type fully reflected in the real world, close approximations to it do exist. Illustrative are William F. Whyte's key informants in his study of clique behavior among Italian-American youths in an urban slum. Once his informants were "clued in" on the purpose of the project, they acquired considerable skill in social-science observation. Whyte relied heavily upon their ability to observe and analyze the functioning of their own system. Unfortunately, Whyte, in his methodological note, does not recognize the implications of his own research procedure: namely, that his key informants were *marginal men*.<sup>13</sup> Numerous other studies by anthropologists and sociologists demonstrate that researchers do use stable marginal informants as a means of understanding the workings of large-scale organizations and communities, or their subsystems.<sup>14</sup>

But how does one find the marginal informant? Admittedly this is not always an easy task. Nevertheless, many persons in a system are at least implicitly aware of the existence of this person—whether he be of the deviant or the stable type. The more extreme outcasts are readily apparent. And a conscious probing will often reveal the existence of other marginal men. For one thing, the researcher can purposively seek out recent arrivals in a system or, better still, persons who have left a system without special prejudice having been attached to their exit. These individuals may display characteristics of both types of marginal men here described: in one sense they have become outcasts; yet if they do not overidentify with their former organiza-

<sup>13</sup> William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (enl. ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955), Appendix. Ruth Bunzel in the methodological discussion of her informants makes a similar error in not recognizing the marginal character of these persons. See Ruth Bunzel, *Chichicastenango, a Guatemalan Village*, Publications of the American Ethnological Society (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1952), Vol. 22, pp. v-xxiii.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Harry Estill Moore, *Nine Help Themselves* (Austin, University of Texas, 1955), and Horace Miner, *The Primitive City of Timbuctoo* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953).

tion they may be quite objective and rational. Persons who have formally retired from a system—particularly if they held marginal roles in it—are potential sources of data not otherwise obtainable. Quite often it is only after retirement that such individuals feel free to divulge sensitive materials. Promising here as possible informants on vital subsystems in American society are retired congressmen, generals, and businessmen.

Although one may have no choice but to rely upon marginal informants for obtaining certain types of information, I do not wish to minimize the disadvantages this method involves, particularly the issue of representativeness. Random sampling should be employed wherever possible. But social scientists tend to underestimate the difficulties of securing random samples for many types of social research. The not uncommon practice of treating nonrandom samples as random for statistical analysis may have some justification,<sup>15</sup> but most statisticians consider it methodologically unsound.<sup>16</sup> It is preferable at times to admit the limitations of the more rigorous techniques and to use indirect methods of data-gathering. However, even the latter course needs a rationale and requires systematization.

In the area of social organization, marginal informants, especially the stable kind, may be more satisfactory than has been believed. Because of the marginal man's unique perspective and, frequently, specialized knowledge, he functions as an expert and must therefore not be ignored. Inherent in random-sampling procedures is the danger that the very persons whose information is indispensable for an understanding of an organization's operations may actually be overlooked.<sup>17</sup>

But how are social scientists to eliminate biases in their selection of cases? Although no procedure may be completely satisfactory where randomization cannot be employed, a purposive selection of persons who occupy divergent functional roles—including both the deviant and stable marginal types—does offer checks on generalizations about a designated system. Samples should include persons who theoretically might hold to differing views. Also, the nature of scientific inquiry should be kept in mind: in generalizing about a system or subsystem, one can more readily disprove

<sup>15</sup> Thomas C. McCormick, "Simple Percentage Analysis of Attitude Questionnaires," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 50 (March, 1945), p. 395.

<sup>16</sup> William G. Cochran, Frederick Mosteller, and John W. Tukey, *Statistical Problems of the Kinsey Report* (Washington, D.C., The American Statistical Association, 1954), p. 310. Also see Leslie Kish, "Confidence Intervals for Clustered Samples," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 22 (April, 1957), pp. 154-65.

<sup>17</sup> Harry Alpert, "Some Observations on the Sociology of Sampling," *Social Forces*, Vol. 31 (October, 1952), pp. 30-33. Although some of Alpert's comments are open to question, he does raise some pertinent issues with respect to sampling and the study of social structure. Actually the interrelationships of statistical analysis and social theory also require investigation.

than prove hypotheses, and negative cases should be sought that overthrow, or suggest limits to, existing hypotheses. Many studies that have depended upon marginal informants have served this purpose.

To conclude: the social scientist encounters a fundamental dilemma whose implications for field work must not be overlooked. On the one hand, he seeks to develop and formalize rigorous techniques, a necessary and laudable objective. But the social scientist also functions as a member of a society wherein the institutional apparatus can set limits upon the use of precise research methods. It is unlikely that society will be remade to fit the model prescribed by some researchers. Thus, sensitive areas—the study of which may be crucial for the rejection or tentative verification of significant sociological hypotheses—may require special procedures. Although these methods may be difficult to formalize, the scientist should make every effort to do so.

This paper has attempted to provide a rationale for the use of informants who are marginal men. Perhaps it has suggested a partial solution to a knotty methodological issue. Moreover, it is hoped this discussion has indicated the essentiality of viewing the research process as a social phenomenon. General social theory and research procedures, often considered disjunct, must be seen in their relationships to one another.

# Professional Sports and the Antitrust Laws

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*"If the law supposes that," said Mr. Bumble, "... the law is a ass, a idiot."*—Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist*

UNTIL RECENT YEARS antitrust activity in the field of professional sports was virtually unknown. Sports were generally considered distinct from the normal run of business activities, and little attention was paid to their internal affairs. This situation changed rapidly with the boom in sports which followed the Second World War. The introduction of television and the multimillion-dollar scope of professional sports raised problems concerning the economic nature of such enterprises. Questions were raised about restrictive practices which limited competition within the various types of professional sports. Lawsuits were initiated by aggrieved individuals and by the federal antitrust agencies alleging that certain professional sports enterprises were violating the Sherman Antitrust Act. In the ensuing controversy, the lack of co-ordination among Congress, the courts, and the antitrust authorities that plagues the effective formulation of antitrust policy has been brought sharply into focus. The importance of judicial review as a factor in antitrust enforcement has been demonstrated by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in cases concerning the position of professional baseball, football, and boxing under the monopoly laws.

The crux of the problem lies in the definition of "interstate commerce" as the term is interpreted by the courts. Unless professional sports are engaged in interstate commerce, the legality of any of their monopolistic arrangements cannot be questioned under the federal antitrust laws. Assuming that sports are included in the realm of interstate commerce, the further problem remains of evaluating restraints of trade by their effect on the public interest. To date, the Supreme Court has shown little consistency in its approach to these problems.

## *Baseball Is Not a Business*

The question of the inclusion of professional sports enterprises under the antitrust laws was first decided by the Supreme Court in the Federal

League case of 1922, which involved organized baseball.<sup>1</sup> The Federal League was a "wildcat" one that attempted to enter into competition with the established major-league clubs in the American and National leagues. In the ensuing struggle the Federal League lost all its member clubs except the one in Baltimore. The Baltimore club brought suit, alleging that the major leagues conspired to monopolize the baseball business by buying up some of the clubs in the Federal League and by various means inducing the others to leave. The whole structure of rules and regulations that bound together the clubs in organized baseball was cited as an unreasonable restraint of trade. It was contended that players in organized baseball were reluctant to accept offers from the Federal League clubs because of coercive regulations that threatened black-listing and banishment from the organized segment of baseball. Its inability to procure trained players, plus the loss of member clubs that provided playing opposition, spelled destruction for the Federal League.

In a lower court the Baltimore club was awarded treble damages totaling \$240,000 under the Sherman Act, but the ruling was reversed on appeal to the Supreme Court. The Court declared that organized baseball was not a subject of commerce within the scope of the federal antitrust laws. The Court went even further and stated that organized baseball was not commerce at all.<sup>2</sup>

This position went unchallenged until the Gardella case of 1949.<sup>3</sup> Gardella was one of a number of major-league players who left organized baseball in 1946 to play in the newly formed Mexican League, an association not affiliated with organized baseball. In order to halt the exodus of playing talent, Baseball Commissioner A. B. Chandler announced that any player who quit a major-league club to play in the Mexican League would be banned from organized baseball for a period of five years. Gardella returned to the United States before the expiration of the ban and sought reinstatement in the ranks of organized baseball. When his application was refused, he contended that organized baseball was an illegal monopoly depriving him of a livelihood. The monopoly allegation was given legal support by a federal court, which felt that the 1922 decision was no longer a controlling factor because of changed conditions in the baseball business.<sup>4</sup>

The Gardella case was later settled out of court, but repercussions from the opinions expressed in the case were eventually felt in the halls of Congress. Owing to the doubt over the antitrust status of baseball created by the

<sup>1</sup> *Federal Baseball Club of Baltimore, Inc. v. National League of Professional Baseball Clubs et al.*, 259 U.S. 200 (1922).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Gardella v. Chandler*, 172 F.2d 402 (1949).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



Gardella opinion, new litigation was instituted in 1951 by other baseball figures. Several interested congressmen, including Senator E. C. Johnson, of Colorado, and Representative A. S. Herlong, of Florida, hastened to defend baseball from adverse judicial decisions by sponsoring bills designed to grant a complete exemption from the antitrust laws to all organized professional sports enterprises. The interest of Johnson and Herlong stemmed from their association with organized baseball as president of the Western League and former president of the Florida State League, respectively.<sup>5</sup>

The bills were referred to the Celler Subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary, which was then engaged in a long-range examination of the impact of the antitrust laws on various segments of the economy. After a series of hearings<sup>6</sup> the Subcommittee published a report in 1952 in which no legislative action was recommended in view of the fact that several baseball cases were pending before the Supreme Court. The report made it clear that Congress was looking to the Supreme Court for a current evaluation of professional sports. The Subcommittee deemed it "unwise to attempt to anticipate judicial action with legislation."<sup>7</sup> As a result the exemption bills never reached the floor of Congress.

The litigation involving the monopoly position of organized baseball culminated in 1953 with the decision in the Toolson case.<sup>8</sup> Toolson was under contract to the New York Yankees, who assigned him to one of their minor-league affiliates at Binghamton, New York. When he refused to report, he was barred from further participation in organized baseball. Toolson claimed that this arbitrary assignment and subsequent black-listing constituted an unreasonable restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman Act. "Without re-examination of the underlying issues,"<sup>9</sup> the Supreme Court applied the 1922 decision to the 1953 situation. The wording of the Toolson opinion indicated that the Court refused to assume any responsibility for evaluating the status of baseball under the antitrust laws in the light of changed conditions in the thirty-one-year interval. The Court side-stepped the issue by upholding the Federal League decision "so far as that decision determines that Congress had no intention of including the business of baseball within the scope of the antitrust laws."<sup>10</sup>

The intent of Congress is expressed plainly in the Sherman Antitrust Act

<sup>5</sup> *Organized Baseball: Report of the Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power of the Committee on the Judiciary, Pursuant to H. Res. 95, House of Representatives*, 82d Cong., 2d sess. (1952), pp. 1-2, hereafter referred to as *Report*.

<sup>6</sup> *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives (Organized Baseball)*, 82d Cong., 1st sess. (1952). Serial No. 1, Part 6, hereafter referred to as *Hearings*.

<sup>7</sup> *Report*, p. 232.

<sup>8</sup> *Toolson v. New York Yankees, Inc.*, 346 U.S. 356 (1953).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

of 1890: it declares every contract, combination, or conspiracy in restraint of trade involving interstate commerce illegal. Congress has never exempted any professional sports enterprise from the antitrust laws. The attempts to pass exemption bills in the Eighty-second Congress indicate that baseball was believed to be within the scope of the law. The only stumbling block to a new evaluation of the antitrust status of baseball was the judicial exemption from the monopoly laws conferred by the Court in 1922.

In refusing to re-examine the underlying issues in professional baseball in 1953, the Court was saying, in effect, that nothing had changed since 1922. The Court shifted its burden of enforcing the laws to the shoulders of Congress when it declared that ". . . if there are evils in the field [organized baseball] which now warrant application to it of the antitrust laws it should be by legislation."<sup>11</sup> The legislation was provided in 1890. The missing element was a realistic appraisal of professional baseball as it existed in 1953, not in 1922.

#### *Part of Football Is a Business*

Organized baseball greeted the Toolson decision with a sigh of relief, but agitation over the antitrust position of professional sports was still evident. Three days after the Toolson decision a federal district court delivered an opinion in a case brought by the National Football League.<sup>12</sup> The government sought to enjoin certain practices of the league which restricted the broadcasting and telecasting of professional football games. The rules of the league gave each club exclusive jurisdiction over radio and television accounts of professional football games within a seventy-five-mile radius of the home city. No outside club could broadcast or telecast games into the territory of another league city without the permission of the home club. The effect of these rules was to preserve a geographic monopoly over all aspects of professional football for each club in its home territory.

The league asked for a dismissal of the charges on the grounds that football is not trade or commerce. The court refused to apply the decision handed down in the baseball cases, however, by holding that "it is immaterial whether professional football by itself is commerce or interstate commerce."<sup>13</sup> The court distinguished between the antitrust position of the football business itself as opposed to the broadcasting and telecasting of football games by holding that "radio and television clearly are in interstate commerce."<sup>14</sup>

The court then proceeded to evaluate the restrictive practices in the light of their effects on competition among the football clubs. The prohibition

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *United States v. National Football League*, 116 Supp. 319 (1953).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

against televising outside games into the home territory of a club when that club was playing in its stadium was upheld as a reasonable restraint of trade. The presentation of televised games was found to cut down on attendance at the stadium, and, consequently, to alter the competitive position of the clubs in the league. An injunction was allowed against all other restrictions found to be unreasonable for the maintenance of effective competition in the football business.

The remedy applied in the football case had the effect of classifying professional football as a business engaged in interstate commerce, though the court did not state this specifically. A somewhat tenuous distinction was drawn between the radio and television activities of professional football and the business of exhibiting football games. Perhaps the court reasoned that the broadcasting phase of professional football was not an integral part of the business. The division of football into two neat categories, however, relieved the court from being bound by the precedent established in the baseball cases. Part of professional football had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. The legal status of the football business itself was still in doubt.

### *A Sports-Minded Congress*

The antitrust status of professional sports received further attention from Congress in 1954, when a move developed in the Senate to force baseball to sever all ties with business concerns that were subject to the antitrust laws.<sup>15</sup> The event precipitating the move was the purchase of the St. Louis Cardinals by A. A. Busch, Jr., owner of the Anheuser-Busch Brewery. The baseball club was set up as a wholly owned subsidiary of the brewery, and it was claimed that the Cardinals were being used as an advertising vehicle for Budweiser beer. Senator E. C. Johnson sponsored a bill to make baseball clubs owned by beer or liquor interests subject to the antitrust laws because of such ownership. The Senator pointed out that it was not unusual for other business interests to acquire baseball clubs but that in the past the baseball clubs had been set up as separate and distinct corporations. In referring to other business interests in baseball, Johnson stated that P. K. Wrigley, owner of the Chicago Cubs, kept his baseball club completely separate from his chewing-gum business. The same separation had been made by the late Colonel Jake Ruppert in his ownership of the New York Yankees and the Ruppert Brewery.

Apparently, Johnson felt that baseball's judicial exemption from the law was based upon its classification as a sport rather than as commerce in the Federal League case. Unless baseball was free from the taint of commerce, its implied exemption might be threatened. When the Justice Department

<sup>15</sup> *The New York Times*, February 21, 1954, p. 1.

opposed his bill on the grounds that it discriminated against beer and liquor interests, Johnson indicated that he was willing to broaden the bill to include all businesses under the monopoly laws. To complicate matters further, Stanley N. Barnes, then head of the Antitrust Division, made a counterproposal. Judge Barnes wanted to make all of organized baseball, not just those clubs owned by businesses, subject to the antitrust laws.<sup>16</sup> The controversy was little more than a tempest in a teapot, however, since none of the proposals were ever enacted into legislation.

### *Boxing Is a Business*

Confusion was compounded in 1955 when the Supreme Court was asked to rule on the status of professional boxing. The Antitrust Division contended that the International Boxing Club of New York had conspired to monopolize the promotion and exhibition of championship boxing bouts.<sup>17</sup> Between June, 1949, and March, 1952, the International Boxing Club promoted all but two of the twenty-one championship fights held in the United States. In addition, it controlled the broadcasting, telecasting, and film rights of these contests.

It was alleged that the conspiracy began in 1949 with an agreement between the club and heavyweight champion Joe Louis. By the terms of the agreement, the club acquired the exclusive right to negotiate contracts with contenders for Louis' title. In addition, it gained exclusive rights to broadcast, televise, and film these championship bouts. Any boxer desiring an opportunity to fight for the title had no alternative but to negotiate with the International Boxing Club. Control over each championship match since 1949 had been maintained by requiring each contender, as a condition to a title match, to assign to the club those exclusive rights surrounding the exhibition of championship fights. Later it extended its control over championship matches to other weight-divisions.

The International Boxing Club contended that boxing was a sport, not commerce, and rested its case on its similarity to baseball. The Court pointed out that the Toolsen decision, exempting baseball, did not apply to all athletic enterprises. No court had ever held that the business of boxing was exempt from the antitrust laws. Therefore, the present issue was not the continuance of a previously granted exemption but whether exemption should be granted. The Court declined to grant boxing an exemption because "that issue is for Congress to resolve, not this Court."<sup>18</sup>

Apparently, the Supreme Court did not recognize its contradictory position inherent in its boxing decision: Boxing was not granted an exemption

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, March 19, 1954, p. 26.

<sup>17</sup> *United States v. International Boxing Club of New York, Inc.*, 348 U.S. 236 (1955).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

by the Court because only Congress had this power; yet the only exemption ever granted baseball was conferred by the Supreme Court in 1922 and confirmed in 1953. The distinction drawn by the Court was that baseball was not engaged in interstate commerce. Boxing, on the other hand, derived approximately 25 per cent of its revenue from radio and television activities. This figure was high enough to cast doubt upon boxing's status as a sport. The Court neglected to mention that it did not take into consideration the amount of revenue derived by professional baseball from radio and television activities in 1953.

In contrast to the district court decision in the case of professional football, the Supreme Court did not consider the radio and television activities of boxing separately from the exhibition of boxing bouts. The boxing business in its entirety was held to be subject to federal antitrust laws.

### *All of Football Is a Business*

In February, 1957, the Supreme Court declared that the business of professional football is subject to the antitrust laws.<sup>19</sup> The decision was delivered in a damage suit brought by William Radovich, a former professional football player, charging the National Football League with monopolizing the football business. The case was similar to the Gardella and Toolson cases in that Radovich complained of coercive restrictions and black-listing by the league which prevented competition by the various clubs for his services as a player. The decision did not carry with it a conviction. As in the case of boxing, the football ruling merely admitted that the business is engaged in interstate commerce, and as such it is subject to the law.

By this time the Supreme Court was hard put to rationalize the baseball decision. Boxing and football it admitted are interstate businesses. Baseball, alone, remains in a pristine state, removed from any tawdry aspects of commerce. The Court admitted, however, that if it were considering "baseball for the first time upon a clean slate"<sup>20</sup> there would be no doubt that it, too, is subject to the antitrust laws. So far as the Court is concerned, baseball will remain outside the antitrust law until Congress passes specific legislation placing baseball in the same category as football and boxing. The decisions of 1922 and 1953 will stand despite any evidence to the contrary. Evidently, the Court refuses to face the economic facts.

### *Economic Aspects of Baseball*

In describing the baseball business in 1922, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes was of the opinion that it could hardly be "called trade or commerce in the commonly accepted use of those words."<sup>21</sup> The definition of "com-

<sup>19</sup> *Wall Street Journal*, February 26, 1957, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> 259 U.S. 200 (1922).

merce" has undergone an interesting metamorphosis in the hands of the Court. At one time the Court removed manufacturing from the scope of the antitrust laws by declaring that "commerce succeeds to manufacture and is not a part of it."<sup>22</sup> Labor unions, though not mentioned specifically in the Sherman Act, were brought under the law by judicial interpretation.<sup>23</sup> The records are replete with cases where the courts have seized upon the slightest bit of evidence in order to classify a business as interstate commerce. The attitude of the Supreme Court toward the New Deal legislation of the 1930's demonstrates forcefully the tractability of the concept of interstate commerce.

That baseball is a business is a fact hardly subject to debate. Baseball clubs are enterprises actively engaged in profit-seeking ventures. The business produces an exhibition of skill for which an admission price is charged, similar to other forms of entertainment. Baseball is not only business, but "it is Big Business—a \$100,000,000 industry."<sup>24</sup>

Justice Holmes held the opinion that baseball games are purely local affairs, and the mere fact that state lines are crossed in the transportation of players and equipment does not transform these exhibitions into commerce among the states. It is still true in 1957 that baseball games are local exhibitions, but a vast industrial structure, undreamed of in 1922, has been built up around these games. Baseball today has not only an interstate but an international scope as well. The term "organized baseball" refers to the sixteen major-league clubs and their minor-league subsidiaries and affiliates throughout the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Cuba. These modern baseball clubs exhibit many economic characteristics interstate in nature.

All major-league clubs are engaged in intercorporate ownership through their affiliation with "farm" clubs, which are teams operating in the smaller towns and cities. The farm clubs are a part of the minor leagues that are used to supply trained players for the "big" leagues. The stock or assets of these minor-league business corporations may be owned in whole or in part by the major-league clubs. Another form of intercorporate activity is the "working agreement" whereby the parent baseball club, though not necessarily owning any share of the minor-league club, agrees to assume some portion of its financial liability. The agreement usually covers players' salaries and training expenses. In return for its financial aid, the parent club may receive a first option on the contracts of promising players performing for the minor-league club.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *United States v. E. C. Knight Co.*, 156 U.S. 1 (1895).

<sup>23</sup> *Loewe v. Lawlor*, 208 U.S. 274 (1908).

<sup>24</sup> *Hearings*, p. 474.

<sup>25</sup> For an excellent discussion of the inner workings of organized baseball, see Simon Rottenberg, "The Baseball Players' Labor Market," *Journal of Political Economy*, June, 1956, pp. 242-58.



In 1951 there were 364 minor-league clubs in operation in organized baseball. Of these, 75 were owned outright by major-league clubs, 120 were controlled by working agreements, and 169 were independent operators. The typical major-league club is, in fact, a holding company possessed of diverse geographic holdings. For example, in 1951 the Washington (D.C.) club of the American League owned clubs in Chattanooga, Tennessee; Charlotte, North Carolina; Havana, Cuba; and Orlando, Florida. Controlled by working agreements were clubs in Fulton, Kentucky; Erie, Pennsylvania; and Big Spring, Texas.<sup>26</sup>

In 1922 interstate telegraphic reports of games were considered so incidental to the main business they were dismissed from consideration. Since then, radio and television have become an integral part of professional sports. This fact was recognized by the Supreme Court in the case of football and boxing. The Court did not acknowledge that radio and television contributed more than \$4 million to organized baseball in 1951. This figure comprised more than 10 per cent of total income from all sources for the sixteen major-league clubs.<sup>27</sup> Recent contracts negotiated in the field of radio and television indicate that income from this source has probably risen both absolutely and proportionately.

Although baseball games are played within the boundaries of a single state, the revenue from admissions to these contests is shared by each of the participating clubs. Part of the receipts from the sale of tickets to certain seats in the stadium is paid to the visiting club for its contribution in attracting spectators. In 1950, 14 per cent of all major-league income was derived from games played away from the home stadium.<sup>28</sup>

### *Conclusion*

If there is any discernible difference among the sports enterprises considered by the Court, it is in the type of uniform worn by the participants. All are engaged in interstate commerce and all should be subject to federal antitrust laws. It is difficult to understand the action of the Supreme Court in applying the 1922 decision to the present situation. Certainly it is not the result of any judicial awe for precedent. In 1954 this same Court saw fit in the segregation decision to overrule the "separate but equal" doctrine which had stood for over half a century. More likely the baseball decision is due to the degree of selectivity which the Court exercises in considering cases for review. The result has been to make even more difficult the formulation of a consistent antitrust policy.

<sup>26</sup> *Hearings*, pp. 765-66.

<sup>27</sup> *Report*, p. 86.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

# Salary Differentials and Collective Action among College Teachers: A Theoretical Comment

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THE ISSUE OF SALARY DISCRIMINATION among college and university teachers, with respect to both fields of specialization and level of competence, and the efficacy of trade-union activities among academic people constitutes a topic of considerable practical and theoretical interest. This brief comment is concerned primarily with the theoretical aspects of this issue.

Let us assume that a university administrator, with a maximum teaching budget of \$2,100,000, might wish either to (1) minimize costs, (2) maximize teaching quality, or (3) secure the best combination of (1) and (2), that is, a minimax optimum. Further assume that the demand for teachers, based upon a given anticipated enrollment for an academic year and a desired student-teacher ratio, is 300 regardless of the asking price, so long as the maximum budget is not exhausted; that is, insofar as an attempt is made to maintain a fixed student-teacher ratio, the demand schedule for teachers is perfectly inelastic from \$7,000 down to \$0 (see Fig. 1).

Cases I, II, and III, below, indicate how each of the above goals may be achieved under differing sets of assumptions.

## CASE I

### *Assumptions:*

1. Within the given aggregate demand, the university wishes to employ an equal number of teachers to instruct in three fields (100 in field A, 100 in field B, and 100 in field C);
2. The elasticity of substitution among teachers trained as specialists in fields A, B, and C is indicated as follows:
  - a) In addition to instructing in their own field, specialists in field C can teach courses in fields A and B, and specialists in field B can teach courses in field A.

b) Two degrees of teaching quality exist: "Excellent" for those individuals instructing within their own field of specialization, and "Adequate" for those instructing outside their specialty.

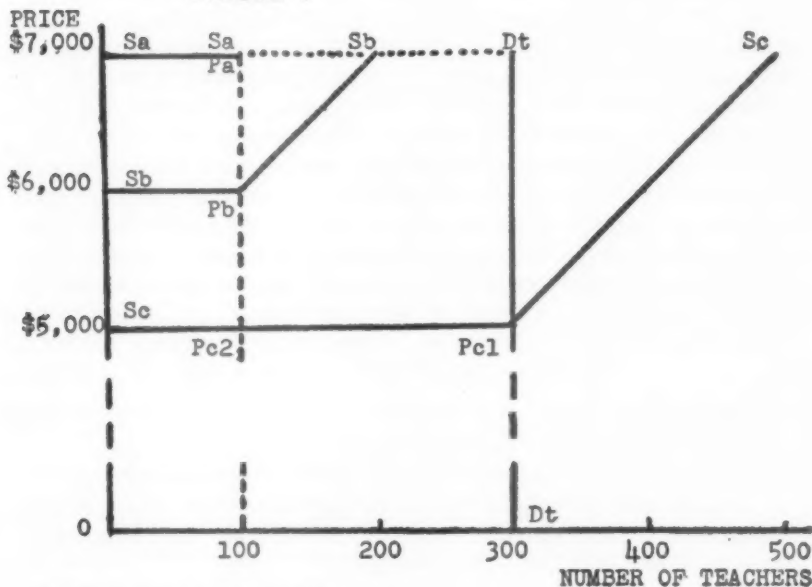
3. The reservation price in field A is \$7,000; in field B, \$6,000; in field C, \$5,000; the supply schedules are as follows (see Fig. 1):

Field A		Field B		Field C	
Price	Quantity	Price	Quantity	Price	Quantity
\$5,000	0	\$5,000	0	\$5,000	300
6,000	0	6,000	100	6,000	400
7,000	100	7,000	200	7,000	500

*Solutions:*

- a) If the university administrator wishes to minimize costs alone, he will offer \$5,000 per year per teacher. Three hundred specialists in field C can be hired to teach all courses offered in fields A, B, and C (see Fig. 1,  $P_{c1}$ ) with total costs of \$1,500,000. At this price, 100 "Excellent" teachers and 200 "Adequate" teachers will be employed;
- b) If the administrator wishes to maximize quality alone, he either (1)

FIGURE 1



$D_t D_t$  = aggregate demand schedule

$S_a S_a$ ,  $S_b S_b$ ,  $S_c S_c$  = supply schedules for A, B, and C

will offer a salary of \$7,000 to all teachers and be able to hire 100 specialists for each field at a total cost of \$2,100,000, or, (2) will offer \$7,000 to specialists in field A, \$6,000 to specialists in field B, and \$5,000 to specialists in field C, and will purchase 100 specialists for each field at a total cost of \$1,800,000 (see Fig. 1, *Pa*, *Pb*, and *Pc2*). In either situation the administrator will employ "Excellent" teachers for each field;

- c) If the university wishes to secure the best quality of teachers in combination with the lowest total costs (minimax optimum), solution *b*(2), above, will provide an equilibrium. No other solution will give as much teaching quality at a lower cost.

The above solutions indicate that, though the quantity and quality of work performed in different fields may be the same, as suggested by solutions *b*(2) and *c*, above, there will be a strong incentive for university administrators to discriminate in payments to teachers in different fields, because of different supply schedules in the various teaching areas. The above minimax solution, with the given supply, budgetary, and enrollment situation, is wholly supply-determined. If the university chooses to discriminate in the above manner in order to save a portion of its allotted budget, teachers as a group may maximize their total revenue and receive equal salaries for the same teaching load and quality of performance within the given maximum budget by collective action designed to increase the salaries of the lower-paid groups. Note that as the low-priced (generally "nonspecialist") teachers are more abundant and more substitutable, it is the threat of withdrawal from the market of the teachers with the *lowest* reservation price, *not* those with the highest reservation price, that is crucial to the success of collective action, so long as the college does not strive to minimize costs alone; that is, the action of the abundant rather than the scarce resource controls the effectiveness of such a collective endeavor. Further, complete withdrawal of the low-paid abundant teachers will increase the minimum-cost solution.

#### CASE II

##### *Assumptions:*

1. Retain Assumptions 1 and 3 of Case I;
2. Assume no substitutability between fields of specialization;
3. Assume that within each field of specialization three grades of performance are distinguishable: "Adequate," "Excellent," and "Superior," with weights of 1, 1.5, and 2, respectively;
4. The reservation prices for "Adequate" quality teachers in each field of specialization remains the same as the reservation prices for teachers in

each field as indicated in Assumption 3, Case I. The reservation price for "Excellent" teachers is \$1,000 higher, and for "Superior" teachers is \$2,000 higher than the reservation price for "Adequate" teachers in each separate field, and at least 100 teachers of each quality are available at the reservation prices in each of the three fields.

*Solutions:*

- a) If the university administrator wishes to minimize costs, he will offer \$7,000 to specialists in field A, \$6,000 in field B, and \$5,000 in field C, purchasing 100 "Adequate" teachers in each field, and incurring a total cost of \$1,800,000 (see Fig. 1, *Pa*, *Pb*, and *Pr2*);
- b) If the administrator wishes to maximize quality, he will offer \$7,000 per teacher and will hire 100 "Adequate" teachers in field A, 100 "Excellent" teachers in field B, and 100 "Superior" teachers in field C. Total costs will be \$2,100,000;
- c) If the university wishes to secure the best quality of teachers for the least total costs (minimax optimum), the equilibrium position will be the same as in solution *b* above. With the quality weights assumed above (1, 1.5, and 2), no other solution gives as much quality per dollar of expenditure.

It can be demonstrated arithmetically under these assumptions, of course, that the minimax optimum is most favorable to the university (that is, the university receives more teaching quality per unit of expenditure) the lower the quality price-differentials and/or the higher the performance weight-differentials.

### CASE III

*Assumptions:*

1. Retain Assumption 1, Case I, and Assumptions 2 and 3, Case II;
2. Assume there are different reservation prices for different qualities of teachers in field C (as in Assumption 4, Case 2) but that less than 100 teachers of "Excellent" and "Superior" qualities are available at the reservation prices. The supply schedules in field C are as follows:

Price	Quantity of "Adequate" Teacher	Quantity of "Excellent" Teacher	Quantity of "Superior" Teacher
\$5,000	75	0	0
6,000	100	50	0
7,000	125	75	25

3. Assume that \$1,400,000 has been spent to hire teachers in fields A and B (leaving \$700,000 available for purchases in field C).

*Solutions:*

- a) If the university administrator wishes to minimize costs, he will offer \$5,000 to secure 75 "Adequate" teachers, and \$6,000 to secure 25 teachers either "Adequate" or "Excellent" in quality, with a total expenditure of \$525,000;
- b) If the administrator wishes to maximize quality, he will offer \$7,000 to secure 75 "Excellent" teachers and 25 "Superior" teachers, with a total expenditure of \$700,000;
- c) If the university wishes to secure the minimax optimum, the equilibrium position will be the same as in Assumption 2 above.

As in Case I, complete withdrawal of the low-paid abundant ("Adequate") teachers will increase the minimum-cost solution.

*General Conclusions*

1. The authors submit that the assumptions used herein are not unrealistic. It certainly is not uncommon for a teaching budget to be a datum to the administrator, and for this budget to be predicated upon a relatively "fixed" student-teacher ratio. In general, different reservation prices and supply schedules are based in part upon differences in employment opportunities; for example, physicists currently have more alternatives than do historians. Assumption 2, Case I, certainly is characteristic of many small-college situations, where low-salaried "nonspecialists" frequently teach in a number of fields, and Assumptions 2 and 3, Case II, are representative of the situation found in large universities (the quality weights assigned are arbitrary, of course, but are not out of line with traditional salary differentials between the various teaching ranks). Different fields of specialization commonly present administrators with differing reservation prices and supply schedules, as assumed in all three cases. Assumptions 2 and 3, Case III, probably represent a typical aspect of labor-market conditions in the academic profession. Quite frequently college administrators can choose a goal with respect to only a part of the teaching budget, and the amount supplied at various prices and qualities is, of course, limited. Finally, the administrative choices postulated at the beginning of this comment seem to approximate the alternatives faced by most American colleges and universities.

2. Collective action designed to obtain uniform salaries for all instructors with the same teaching load, regardless of quality or field of specialization, is not inconsistent with a school's goal of maximum quality alone as indicated in Case I, or with the maximum quality or the minimax goal in Cases II and III.

3. The effectiveness of collective action by college teachers to alter the salary structure depends primarily upon the characteristics of the supply schedules of different types and qualities of teachers. When the lower-



quality teachers are relatively abundant in relation to the higher-quality teachers (i.e., when there is an insufficient number of "Excellent" and "Superior" teachers to fill personnel requirements), they tend to be the key to successful trade-union action.

4. Whatever trends toward narrowing salary differentials between ranks that have developed in the academic profession during recent years (assuming that rank is a measure of quality of performance) are supported by the theoretical arguments of Case I, solution  $b(1)$ , and Cases II and III, solutions  $b$  and  $c$ .

# Rhys Pryce, the Reluctant Filibuster

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THE VAGARIES OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY FILIBUSTERING constitute an exciting and well-known chapter in frontier history. One adventurer after another pursued fame and fortune in the politically weak Latin-American world, especially in Mexico and Nicaragua. In the event of success, the soldier of fortune expected to carve out a new state or a political dependency ripe for plucking by an embarrassed but youthfully eager United States.<sup>1</sup> Hopes were high that the fickle muse of history would crown him a new Cortés or Pizarro.

Aaron Burr, a famous American renegade, usually is classed as the first filibuster in recognition of his grandiose project of empire in the American Southwest at the expense of Spain and the United States.<sup>2</sup> Despite failure, his scheme became the model for subsequent efforts, which, though smaller in design, were no less daring in conception. In Burr's tracks marched Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon, the celebrated "Prince of Filibusters" William Walker, and Henry Crabb.<sup>3</sup> The trail's end for the trio was not fortune but the firing squad. All others, unless doubtful examples such as Sam Houston and John C. Fremont are included, likewise discovered the elusive quality of dreams.

In twentieth-century America filibusters ranked in obsolescence almost with medieval crusaders. Their nearest counterparts were numerous free-lance adventurers who still fought here and there, notably in the Central American states' petty civil wars. Best-known among these were Lee Christ-mas, once an accident-prone, inebriated American locomotive engineer and subsequently a "president-maker" in Honduras, and Giuseppe Garibaldi,

<sup>1</sup> The closest approach to a history of filibustering is William D. Scroggs's *Filibusters and Financiers* (New York, 1916), a work primarily concerned with Walker in Nicaragua.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Abernathy, *The Burr Conspiracy* (New York, 1954), contains the most up-to-date material on the first filibuster.

<sup>3</sup> A bitter indictment of filibustering may be found in Rómulo Velasco Ceballos, *¿Se apoderará Estados Unidos de Baja California?* (Mexico, 1920); an old but useful account in English is in H. H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of the North American States and Texas* (San Francisco, 1889), Vol. XVI, pp. 673-93.

grandson of the great Italian revolutionist, who fought in the Greco-Turkish War, 1896-97, the Boer War, Venezuela, and, in 1911, with Madero against Porfirio Díaz.<sup>4</sup> As the United States, like other Western powers, had outgrown the toleration of intrigues designed to change the political status of small countries or frontier areas, the adventurers' maximal performance became confined to wartime daredevilry or backstage internal political maneuvering. Despite this prior decisive change in historical conditions, it happened that as late as 1911 Caryl Ap Rhys Pryce, a Welsh adventurer, was to catch one last glimpse of the almost-forgotten treasure at the end of the filibusters' rainbow.

In 1911, a great social revolution began in Mexico. Madero's struggle against long-time dictator-President Díaz in mainland Mexico overshadowed revolutionary activity in the Territory of Baja California, where the fight was led by Ricardo Flores Magón, a Mexican Anarcho-Syndicalist,<sup>5</sup> exiled in Los Angeles. Though he propagated revolution throughout Mexico, he was forced to confine the lion's share of his efforts to the peninsula because of failure to compete effectively against the popular Madero in the main arena. In his futile attempts to outdo Madero, Flores Magón relied upon his political organization—the somewhat misnamed Liberal Party—whose planning organ, the Central Junta, was located in Los Angeles, and upon his Anarchist weekly, *La Regeneración*, which was published there. The organization also sponsored a small but effective army made up of an unusual assortment of Mexicans, Americans in the famous Industrial Workers of the World labor movement, and soldiers of fortune.

Soon it was ominously whispered that the Magonist movement was but a filibuster. Did not its major impact fall on a Territory adjoining the United States in which valuable American property holdings abounded? Were not the numbers of Wobblies and soldiers of fortune, fighting side by side with the Mexicans, alarming? Yet, though reappraisal shows the movement to have been essentially one of social revolt, one cannot gainsay the existence of a filibustering undercurrent within the Magonist mainstream. Some of the Wobbly soldiers talked of the establishment of a peninsular I.W.W. utopia, though their International certainly did not endorse the idea. The soldiers of fortune, characteristically, altered their political views to accord with circumstances. Flores Magón definitely did not encourage such ideas,

<sup>4</sup> For information on Christmas, see Herman B. Deutsch, *The Incredible Yanqui: The Career of Lee Christmas* (New York, 1931), a popular biography; General Garibaldi published memoirs of his pre-First World War years: Giuseppe Garibaldi, *A Toast to Rebellion* (Indianapolis, 1935).

<sup>5</sup> For a recent work summarizing mainly Flores Magón's activities through 1910, see Florencio Barrera Fuentes, *Historia de la revolución mexicana; la etapa precursora* (Mexico, 1955); an old biography is Diego Abad de Santillán's *Ricardo Flores Magón, el apostol de la revolución social mexicana* (Mexico, 1925).

but, hard-pressed for soldiers, he was forced to rely upon troops not distinguished for political steadfastness. Besides, in his own political actions, this doctrinaire ideologue's style was a compound of childlike naïvete and inscrutable Machiavellianism.<sup>6</sup>

In this setting, then, a small Magonist army battled the Mexican regulars, or "Federals," between Mexicali and Tijuana from February until June, 1911, occasionally threatening the territorial capital of Ensenada. The equally small Federal army, strengthened in March by a battalion of regulars commanded by a Colonel Mayol, did its best to hold the rebels in check.<sup>7</sup> On the whole, the Magonists easily outclassed Coxey's Army as a bizarre aggregation. Among their more exceptional traits were an addiction to soap-box oratory, the unmilitary custom of electing leaders, and a zest for daring, irresponsible pugnacity reflecting the battlers' lack of home and family ties.

Caryl Ap Rhys Pryce, an India-born, Scotland-educated product of the British Empire, enlisted in the Magonist army early in February of 1911. As a scion of a military family, he might well have chosen a conventional career in the British forces, but evidently preferred the uncertainties of irregular service. In South Africa for a decade after 1897, Pryce, at the rank of junior officer in the Boer War, fought in frontier campaigns before and after it, and saw duty in the South African Mounted Police. Some time before 1911, he turned up in British Columbia, serving for a while in the Canadian Mounted Police. By 1911, Pryce, now in his thirties, and engaged to a Canadian woman,<sup>8</sup> was snatched from incipient domesticity by the news from Mexico.

In 1910, a socialist-minded American journalist, John Kenneth Turner, published a scathing attack on the Díaz regime.<sup>9</sup> Turner's indictment struck a chord of sympathy for the Mexican poor within Pryce, who was then in Vancouver. It first caused him to read the news accounts of rebel activity in Mexico. Before long this nascent idealism, combined with his usual gusto for adventure, impelled him to embark abruptly for Mexico. On the way he stopped in Los Angeles, where the Liberal junta, with which, incidentally, Turner was associated, recruited soldiers for service in Mexico. Told to go

<sup>6</sup> A recent analysis of the Magonist movement of 1911 is in Lowell L. Blaisdell, "Was It Revolution or Filibustering? The Mystery of the Flores Magón Revolt in Baja California," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII (1954), pp. 147-64.

<sup>7</sup> A summary of the military action, as well as another interpretation of the course of events, is found in Peter Gerhard, "The Socialist Invasion of Baja California, 1911," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XV (1946), pp. 295-304; see also Velasco Ceballos, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> For data on Pryce's background, see *Los Angeles Express*, June 3, 1911; *San Diego Sun*, May 9, 1911.

<sup>9</sup> *Barbarous Mexico* (Chicago, 1911).

to Mexicali, the nearest border point where a rebel force was in control,<sup>10</sup> Pryce resumed his journey without attempting to ascertain the exact political complexion of the group to which he had attached himself.

The ever-imperturbable Welshman readily adjusted to the freakish army. As might be expected, factionalism was rampant, necessitating a division of the tiny force into several theoretically co-operating units. The one toward which Pryce gravitated, the so-called "Foreign Legion," consisted largely of adventurers and Wobblies and was commanded by Stanley Williams, an I.W.W. daredevil. This group tended to dominate the others because it contained the noisiest and most experienced fighters.<sup>11</sup> A dignity unique in the organization, coupled with a feeling for fellowship, immediately made Pryce popular with his tattered and irrepressible comrades. A sudden elevation in status came his way when American pressure on Mexico caused Colonel Mayol to be ordered to march east to the Colorado River to protect a dike-building project.<sup>12</sup> In early April, the Colonel's army of 500 defeated the Foreign Legion of 80 in a heated battle near Mexicali in which Stanley Williams was killed.<sup>13</sup> Despite this disaster the rebels, resorting to their favorite experiment in direct democracy, elected a new "general": "Tonight the rebels were in high glee. They held an election, and Lieutenant Pryce [*sic*] . . . is in command. . . . They held a regular celebration over the election and shouted their joy at the top of their voices."<sup>14</sup>

Since the Magonists' fortunes from mid-April to early June largely depended on Pryce, an assessment of the man's character and plans seems in order. He shared, on a limited scale, many enigmatic and contradictory traits with his gifted contemporary Lawrence of Arabia. In Pryce ample courage and an unusual degree of generosity and fair-mindedness toward every human type were combined with a temporary, albeit sincere, equalitarian enthusiasm. Yet, beneath the idealism lurked a love of intrigue and excitement accompanied by a Kiplingesque paternalism suggestive of the adventurer's typically distorted political views. As devotion to the Arabs' goal of liberty from Turkish rule came easily to T. E. Lawrence, the inherent contradiction led to nothing worse than repeated literary efforts to plumb the depth of his partly self-created enigmatic personality.<sup>15</sup> Pryce, by con-

<sup>10</sup> *Los Angeles Herald*, September 25, 1911; *Los Angeles Express*, September 26, 1911; *San Diego Union*, September 27, 1911. Pryce was the central figure in an extradition hearing in which his movements were detailed.

<sup>11</sup> Contemporary reportage: *Los Angeles Times*, *Los Angeles Examiner*, *The New York Times*, February and March, 1911.

<sup>12</sup> *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1911* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 559, 561-62.

<sup>13</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1911; *The New York Times*, April 9 and 10, 1911.

<sup>14</sup> *Los Angeles Examiner*, April 12, 1911.

<sup>15</sup> From the recent flood of Lawrence literature, see Richard Aldington, *Lawrence of Ara-*

trast, placed as he was in ambiguous surroundings, became the victim of his inner contradictions. Had he, like the younger Garibaldi, fought with the moderate Madero, the better side of his personality almost certainly would have prevailed.

Other conflicts were added to the unremitting internal struggle between love of adventure and the new-found social outlook. As a soldier, as a Britisher, he felt an obligation to the organization for which he was fighting. Yet, at times he had occasion strongly to suspect the junta's good faith in its dealings with the army. How much, if any, should loyalty bind him despite his suspicions? These nagging scruples prevented him from successfully exploiting a number of unforeseen circumstances, while the dilemma turned him into a Jekyll-Hyde, alternately looking and acting like the ghost of Walker, or a devoted revolutionary.

Both his background and the prevailing conditions inclined Pryce toward filibustering. Well-educated, acquainted with the South Africa that produced the Jameson coup, Pryce could hardly have failed to conclude that the setting was a filibuster's dream. A weighing of the chances indicated that the odds were not impossibly long. The greatest hurdle was the passage of time: the halcyon days of the 1850's, with attendant public favor and convenient inaction by the American government, were irretrievably gone. On the other hand, he enjoyed a disguise that earlier soldiers of fortune would have envied. Fighting in a rebel army in a Mexican civil war, he could remain a revolutionist until the moment arrived to step forward as a filibuster. It was not hard to conclude that with great daring, good luck, and perfect timing, a successful filibuster was possible. At worst, the movement need never assume a form distinct from Magonism. A middle ground might be the creation of an I.W.W. independent "co-operative commonwealth" in Baja California. Best of all was the possibility of a briefly independent peninsular state susceptible to absorption by a sheepish United States.<sup>16</sup>

Under these circumstances, two developments determined Pryce to march his little army out of the Mexicali area. First, the American managers or owners of several Mexican ranches complained vehemently to him that his men could not continue to live off their property. After a signed protest of influential citizens had been dispatched to Washington, the possibility of an American intervention that would ruin the revolutionists was not to be overlooked. Second, he received a written message from Flores Magón and an oral confirmation from a junta representative ordering him to march east to

bia, a *Biographical Enquiry* (London, 1955), a debunking work; and Flora Armitage, *The Desert and the Stars* (New York, 1955), a favorable treatment.

<sup>16</sup> The plumbing of an adventurer's motives has to be undertaken with great caution. Implicit in Pryce's subsequent actions and public utterances are the motives outlined above and detailed below.



the Colorado, whence Colonel Mayol had gone.<sup>17</sup> As evacuation of the area and further military action were both imperative, the Welshman followed the junta's orders to move, but he selected his own military objective: a *westward* march to capture Tijuana, to be followed by an immediate attack on Ensenada, thus completing the conquest of northern Baja California. Accordingly, he wrote the junta to cache 20,000 rounds of ammunition near Tijuana in order to expedite the advance on the territorial capital.<sup>18</sup> Marching west, he united with another Magonist detachment at the border hamlet of Tecate, giving him a striking force of 250 well-armed, desperate men. En route, Pryce blithely ran through a frantic stop order from Flores Magón, who besought all groups to turn east for an attack on Mayol.<sup>19</sup>

In a small, bitter battle, the Magonists routed the Federal defenders of Tijuana on May 8 and 9, 1911. As the rebels displayed marked tactical skill, Pryce earned the compliments of American military observers,<sup>20</sup> including General Tasker H. Bliss, later United States Chief of Staff and President Wilson's military advisor at Paris in 1919.

Although he had seized the initiative from the junta in his march on Tijuana, Pryce now dallied for three crucial weeks. While his public actions strongly pointed toward an attempt at filibuster, he was in private a study in indecision.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, the odds became increasingly unfavorable for a coup.

<sup>17</sup> Complaints to Pryce and message to Taft printed in *Los Angeles Examiner*, April 25, 1911; *Calexico Chronicle*, April 24 and 27, 1911; junta's message to Pryce reprinted in Velasco Ceballos, *op. cit.*, 127–28. Possibly Pryce did not receive this written message, but, if not, he had it given to him orally: *Los Angeles Herald*, April 28, 1911; *Calexico Chronicle*, April 28, 1911.

<sup>18</sup> *Investigation of Mexican Affairs: Report of a Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee*, 66th Cong., 2d sess., Sen. Doc. 282, II (Washington, D.C., 1919–20), hereafter referred to as *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*. Reprinted on pages 2503–2504 of this report is an important letter of C. W. Hopkins, another soldier of fortune and a confidant of Pryce, to James Dunn, also an adventurer, June 1 and 3, 1911. It describes, among other matters, Pryce's military plans and sheds considerable light on some of the mystifying aspects of Pryce's thinking.

<sup>19</sup> Velasco Ceballos, *op. cit.*, p. 109, quotes Flores Magón's letter in full. Since it was captured by the Federals, it may not have reached Pryce. Nevertheless, he knew of Flores Magón's desires before marching from Mexicali (see n. 17 *supra*). That he deliberately marched without orders is borne out by interviews with several of his men: *San Diego Evening Tribune*, May 13, 1911.

<sup>20</sup> Detailed accounts of the fighting are given in *San Diego Union*, May 9, 10, and 16, 1911; *Los Angeles Examiner*, May 10, 1911. Coincidentally, the battle began on the anniversary of the very day Walker abandoned his filibuster at the same place in 1854.—Scroggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.

<sup>21</sup> Pryce's maneuvers from here on can be traced through *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*, pp. 2503–2504; *Revolutions in Cuba and Mexico: Report of a Subcommittee on Foreign Relations* (portion dealing with the Flores Magón movement), 62d Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, D.C., 1913), pp. 377–81, hereafter referred to as *Revolutions in Cuba and Mexico*; the daily newspapers, especially the *San Diego Union*, May–June, 1911; the *In-*

The bewildered junta, instead of dismissing Pryce, sent a meaningless letter of congratulations,<sup>22</sup> thereby indicating he had little to fear from his nominal superiors. However, the junta's inertia turned out to be a mixed blessing: although it afforded Pryce the opportunity to resort to his own maneuvers, he needed its active aid as a source of supplies and as a cover for his plans. Thus, the junta, stunned by its army's unexpected capture of Tijuana, failed to cache the badly needed ammunition,<sup>23</sup> making a lengthy layover at Tijuana almost a necessity. This afforded Pryce the opportunity to cast his line in non-Magonist ponds, and to catch two unpromising sources of assistance.

Source one entered the picture when a San Diego *Union* reporter introduced Pryce to one Dick Ferris, an actor-adventurer with a record of gratuitous meddling in peninsular affairs. Well-known in California as the promoter of air and auto races as well as an actor, Ferris in February had hit upon a novel scheme: the purchase of Lower California. Should this offer be rejected, he had boasted, amidst a chorus of snickers, that he would invade the peninsula with a filibuster force.<sup>24</sup> Pryce and Ferris quickly became friends. Though Ferris made light of Pryce's uneasiness at the thought of casting overboard the ballast represented by his ties with the junta, Pryce's compunctions were not so readily dispelled.<sup>25</sup> Meantime, the promoter skirted the very brink of American neutrality-law violation by encouraging enthusiastic recruits to believe their mission to be filibuster.<sup>26</sup> The shrewd Ferris, however, contributed reckless talk but no money or supplies.<sup>27</sup> This left Pryce with nothing more than a free publicity-agent and specialist in intrigue. Since Ferris had with the passing years acquired a golden touch for farce, it occurred to him to aim toward using the Magonist army as a vehicle for a comic-opera revolution that would add to his own renown.<sup>28</sup>

The California press and public opinion unwittingly provided the second source of aid. The months of mystifying fighting nearby, climaxed by the capture of Tijuana, caused Californians to expect a filibuster momentarily. Reflecting this, the San Diego *Union* remarked editorially that numerous

*dustrial Worker*, July 6, 1911, for the I.W.W.'s account of Tijuana events; Los Angeles newspapers, September, 1911, for a summary of Pryce's testimony at his extradition hearing.

<sup>22</sup> *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*, pp. 2503-2504; Velasco Ceballos, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-42.

<sup>23</sup> *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*, pp. 2503-2504.

<sup>24</sup> Ferris' testimony, *Revolutions in Cuba and Mexico*, pp. 373-77; San Francisco *Chronicle*, February 6-9, 1911.

<sup>25</sup> *Revolutions in Cuba and Mexico*, p. 377.

<sup>26</sup> *Industrial Worker*, July 6, 1911, an I.W.W. correspondent's comment on Ferris' meddling.

<sup>27</sup> Ferris' testimony, *Revolutions in Cuba and Mexico*, pp. 381-82.

<sup>28</sup> Hints of an impending Ferris comedy may be found in San Diego *Union*, May 20 and 21, 1911; San Diego *Sun*, May 22, 1911.

"schemes to seize the peninsula have all come to naught," and emphasized that on this occasion

... a band of American filibusters calling themselves "insurrectos" and ostensibly taking part in the general movement against the Diaz government ... covet Lower California and are resolved to possess it. In that event, the United States will have at its door a filibuster "republic" or "commonwealth"—whatever name may be given it—governed by a body of adventurers who have the best reasons for remaining on the south side of the border.<sup>29</sup>

This climate of ideas made it possible to utilize the printed page to launch trial balloons. Accordingly, Pryce made himself available for interviews. The laconic Britisher's cryptic statements intensified public anticipation, smoked out the quiescent junta, and, incidentally, enabled him to verbalize his own inner conflicts. Queried by a *Union* reporter, Pryce declared that he had under consideration "the idea of making Lower California a republic with which the United States will be glad to deal as a valuable addition commercially and in republican form of government." Moreover, Lower California would be "an ideal form of republic where white men as well as Mexicans can secure justice."<sup>30</sup> The remark appeared to be an appeal to Americans to crowd into the peninsula, and may have been suggested by Dick Ferris, who frequently propounded such a thought.<sup>31</sup>

With public interest at fever pitch, a subsequent conversation was quoted by the reporter:

The subject under discussion at the time was that of the American flag flying over a building in Tijuana with the red flag of the rebels above it. One ... said:

"It seems a shame to see them that way, doesn't it?"

"I'll gamble that it won't be three months till the Stars and Stripes float there alone—and in the rest of California, too," he replied.

The *Union* reporter turned to General Pryce who had overheard the remark.

"What do you think of that?" he asked the rebel commander, and Pryce replied promptly.

"It sounds good to me."<sup>32</sup>

Nothing happened. Though Pryce came close, he was not strong enough to deflect the Magonist movement from its social revolutionary course into the muddy channel marked "Filibuster." When his tacit appeal for new support brought no takers, the adventurer had no choice but to ease back into Magonism.

Nevertheless, Pryce's statements temporarily stirred up billows of eye-

<sup>29</sup> San Diego *Union*, May 11, 1911.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, May 13, 1911.

<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, *ibid.*, May 20, 1911.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, May 14, 1911; he is quoted in almost identical words in the *Los Angeles Herald*, same date.

smarting dust in all directions. Americans waited breathlessly for the Great Event. West Coast Mexican residents in the United States, fearful of immediate American annexation, joined the Federals in large numbers.<sup>33</sup> Even the Los Angeles Junta emerged briefly from its hibernation. In his weekly, *Regeneración*, Flores Magón indignantly refuted the belief that the Liberal party intended to detach Baja California from Mexico. Explanatory pamphlets were issued in Spanish, and the San Diego *Sun* was induced to publish a long statement explaining the Magonists' aims and program.<sup>34</sup> Pryce acquiesced in the *Sun* and *Regeneración* statements,<sup>35</sup> but desultorily continued with his intrigues. Simultaneously, Flores Magón could not bring himself to the decisive step of dismissing the Welshman and purging the army of Pryce's intimates and associates. This amazing failure to act is due to Flores Magón's confusion at the time, for he was then attempting to clarify his policy toward the imminent end of belligerency in mainland Mexico, lived in hourly fear of arrest,<sup>36</sup> and was unsure of his control over his army.

Pryce resumed verbal ambiguity, his shift in emphasis being contingent upon the inclinations of his interlocutors and the exigencies of the moment. Thus, he had harked back to the traditional filibuster pattern when interviewed by the San Diego *Union*, but seemingly contemplated a twentieth-century modernization by means of a utopian commonwealth when queried by the Chicago *Daily Socialist*:

Pryce speaks modestly, but the dream of empire is in his eyes. It is empire for the common man, as he tells it. . . . A model state with the most advanced institutions will be established. Such a state could live under a liberal regime in Mexico, or as a separate republic, or as a part of the United States.<sup>37</sup>

Meantime, two developments reduced the chances of successful intrigue to the vanishing point. The strife in mainland Mexico ended with a triumph of the Maderistas over Díaz, enabling these foes to concentrate on the ambitious peninsular schemers. Equally important, Pryce was arrested by American border authorities, then reluctantly released on technical grounds.<sup>38</sup> This incident discouraged him greatly. Inactivity caused violence

<sup>33</sup> Velasco Ceballos, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-50, 166.

<sup>34</sup> *La Regeneración*, May 20, 1911; San Diego *Sun*, May 25, 1911.

<sup>35</sup> Sometimes he would give verbal assurances: he was quoted once as saying he "had always stood with the junta, still supports it and will continue to be governed by its views."—Los Angeles *Herald*, May 23, 1911.

<sup>36</sup> The San Diego *Union* (May 23, 1911) reported, after the fighting between Maderistas and Federals had stopped, that a Liberal Junta manifesto proclaiming its determination to fight on had been issued after "two weeks of debate" in the junta. Flores Magón and members of the junta were arrested on June 14, 1911.—*The New York Times*, and Los Angeles *Times*, June 15, 1911.

<sup>37</sup> Chicago *Daily Socialist*, May 31, 1911.

<sup>38</sup> The Madero-Díaz armistice, providing for the latter's resignation, was signed on

among the soldiers. Moreover, an army delegation failed to induce the junta to obtain ammunition and a field gun with funds the army itself had collected. On May 30, Pryce and a fellow-adventurer, C. W. Hopkins, boarded the midnight train for Los Angeles and a showdown with Flores Magón. Dick Ferris lingered in San Diego to make the public explanations for Pryce's sudden absence and to indulge in practical jokes.<sup>39</sup>

En route to the conference, Pryce pondered several slim possibilities. As Díaz's downfall made further fighting almost useless, he intended first to urge Flores Magón to negotiate with Madero in hopes of obtaining at least a small material reward for the soldiers laying down their arms. If the Mexican rejected the dictates of common sense, Pryce intended to remain with the junta only if that organization immediately fulfilled its verbal promises of land grants, weapons, and money to the soldiers.<sup>40</sup> Only this would provide the incentive to carry on a last-ditch fight to hold the Baja California base. Severance of his connections with the junta was a third and more likely possibility, in which case Pryce harbored hope of pursuing his own filibuster plans. As the wish was father to the thought, he had already hopefully sought the opinion of American acquaintances anent the possibility of a change in the hostile official United States attitude.<sup>41</sup>

As could be expected, the conference with Flores Magón solved nothing. The junta leader displayed monumental naïvete by proposing that his general return to Tijuana in his former capacity; Pryce tendered his resignation.<sup>42</sup>

With Pryce in the United States and seemingly unlikely to return, Ferris carried out his long-contemplated *opéra bouffé* revolution. Rounding up some 150 of the bored derelicts at Tijuana, the promoter had himself proclaimed "Provisional President of Lower California." Public laughter mounted as the California press regaled their readers with descriptions of the "Ferris flag" and speculations about the neophyte executive's First Inaugural.<sup>43</sup> Almost immediately, junta representatives restored order and repu-

May 21.—Charles C. Cumberland, *Mexican Revolution, Genesis Under Madero* (Austin, Texas, 1952), p. 150. Pryce's arrest was big news for a few days.—*San Diego Union, Sun, and Evening Tribune*, May 18–22, 1911.

<sup>39</sup> *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*, pp. 2503–2504; *San Diego Union*, May 22, May 29–June 2, 1911.

<sup>40</sup> *San Diego Union*, June 2 and 3, 1911; *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 17, 1911; *Investigation of Mexican Affairs*, p. 2509. Many Magonist soldiers had enlisted on the verbal promise of 160 acres of land after victory.

<sup>41</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 1, 1911.

<sup>42</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, June 7, 1912, Pryce's testimony at the Flores Magón trial; *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 17, 1911.

<sup>43</sup> *Revolutions in Cuba and Mexico*, pp. 379, 384, Ferris' testimony. California newspapers, especially *San Diego Union*, June 3–6, 1911, and *Los Angeles Herald*, June 3 and 4, 1911.



diated Ferris and all his works.<sup>44</sup> In Los Angeles, Pryce indicated neither approval nor disapproval.

As an incidental result of the farce, the dangers of a real filibuster belatedly dawned on the Mexicans and I.W.W.'s in the army. While absent, Pryce lost his ascendancy over the motley force that had almost become his private army. After the Ferris Filibuster most of the ardent Pryce and Ferris adherents deserted.<sup>45</sup> For all practical purposes the Magonist enterprise ended three weeks later when the remaining force folded up after a final half-hearted battle with the Federals.<sup>46</sup>

After breaking with the junta, Pryce again talked to reporters. Like earlier filibusters, he still seemed attracted by the elusive dream, complete failure notwithstanding. Rosy predictions by Dick Ferris that financial backers could easily be located proved futile. The adventurer was aware, too, that the army's loyalty had evaporated. Nevertheless, observing the dissension already evident among the Maderistas, Pryce predicted that, as Mexico would be torn by strife indefinitely, the army could build an impregnable redoubt in Baja California. As a desperate bluff, he telegraphed Madero, asking his acquiescence in the creation of an independent state in the peninsula.<sup>47</sup>

Nobody was fooled by this blank parting shot. A few days thereafter, penniless and wearing a suit of clothes purchased for him by Dick Ferris, Pryce turned up in San Francisco looking for work. Quickly two sets of charges were filed against him. The Mexican government demanded his extradition for murder, arson, and theft in the Battle of Tijuana, while the American government ordered his arrest on suspicion of violation of the neutrality laws.<sup>48</sup>

Pryce's defense against these charges constituted an exciting anticlimax in West Coast international politics. The Welshman possessed the valuable knack of inducing people of strikingly dissimilar backgrounds to form an attachment for him. Thus, such unlikely companions as Lord Bryce, the great scholar-ambassador, and Freddie Welsh, a British boxing champion of the day, as well as Miss Hattie Biggs, of Vancouver, Pryce's fiancée, were to be found in his corner. Nor was this all. An assortment of former army comrades—including tramps, Mexicans, cowboys, and Negroes—came to his aid. Many sympathetic strangers lent their moral support.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *San Diego Union*, June 4-6, 1911; *La Regeneración*, June 10, 1911.

<sup>45</sup> *Industrial Worker*, July 6, 1911; *San Diego Union* and *Evening Tribune*, June 5-7, 1911.

<sup>46</sup> *San Diego Union* and *Evening Tribune*, June 22-23, 1911.

<sup>47</sup> *Los Angeles Express*, June 5, 1911; *The New York Times*, June 6, 1911.

<sup>48</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 17, 1911; *San Diego Evening Tribune*, June 20, 1911.

<sup>49</sup> Reportage of the Pryce extradition hearings by the *Los Angeles Herald*, September 14-28, 1911.



Lord Bryce wrote two urgent letters to the State Department to ensure proper caution in preventing the accused from being "railroaded" into the custody of Mexican officials.<sup>50</sup> Pryce's fiancée, who, as rumor had it, had once been rescued from a runaway carriage by the adventurer,<sup>51</sup> added the weight of romantic sentiment with an interesting letter to President Taft. It elicited a kindly response from Assistant Secretary of State Huntington Wilson, and from J. Reuben Clark, later famous for his Memorandum Repudiating the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Parts of Miss Biggs's letter follow:

I am an Englishwoman, but am appealing to you for what may be the life of the man I am going to marry.

Mr. Caryl Ap Rhys Pryce, son of Colonel Pryce of the Indian army, left here [British Columbia] in February last and joined the Liberal forces of the Mexican army in the late rebellion, solely, I believe for the excitement. . . . He is now held prisoner in Los Angeles by your country for some breach of the Neutrality Laws which Mr. Pryce denies.

The whole offence, which seems such a preposterous and unheard of charge, is a political one, and, as such, I believe is not by Law extraditable. . . . If it is Law that political offences are not extraditable I beg that you will make enquiry into the affair and exercise your influence for the protection of Mr. Pryce.<sup>52</sup>

The Pryce extradition hearing took place in a jammed Los Angeles courtroom in September, 1911, in an atmosphere made tense by the recent Mexican-American misunderstandings in Baja California and the approaching climax to the famous McNamara bombing case. Since the defendant's acts involved attempted filibuster, which was a nonextraditable political offense, the Mexican government's contention that he was guilty of murder or arson in a military engagement was foredoomed.<sup>53</sup> After ten days of hearings, an announcement of denial of extradition was received enthusiastically by a majority of the audience:

Pryce's hands were shaken until they ached. He was led back to jail happier than he had been in his whole life, he said, because he felt that he had foiled a firing squad.<sup>54</sup>

At the conclusion of the Pryce hearing this morning, W. H. Newerf of the

<sup>50</sup> Lord Bryce to State Department, July 31, and August 26, 1911; and Department of Justice to United States District Attorney, Los Angeles, August 14, and September 6, 1911, both in National Archives, General Records of the Department of Justice, Record Group 74, Washington, D.C., cited hereafter as GRJ.

<sup>51</sup> Los Angeles Herald, September 25, 1911.

<sup>52</sup> Hattie Biggs to W. H. Taft, July 28, 1911; and State Department to Hattie Biggs, August 23, 1911, GRJ, Record Group 74.

<sup>53</sup> Accounts of the Pryce extradition hearing, all Los Angeles newspapers, September 14-29, 1911.

<sup>54</sup> Los Angeles Herald, September 29, 1911.

W. D. Newerf Rubber Company came from the crowd present and shook hands with General Pryce saying: "I admire your conduct during this trial. As an American citizen, I congratulate you on your splendid behavior during this trying time. I want to hand you \$5."

And he did.<sup>55</sup>

In June, 1912, Pryce testified uneventfully in the Flores Magón neutrality trial. When, a year later, his own case involving neutrality was considered, he obtained an out-of-court disposition of it. Complicated and loosely phrased, American neutrality legislation prescribed a two-year jail term for individuals found guilty of organizing and outfitting a military force within the United States for service in a foreign country. Repeated cases in the nineteenth century had made it abundantly plain that conviction was difficult to obtain.<sup>56</sup> As Pryce, unlike the junta leaders, had not personally recruited men in the United States and had joined the revolution *within Mexico*, he finally secured dismissal of the charges. While awaiting settlement of his case, Pryce had a fling at movie-acting.<sup>57</sup> Then he left the American scene.

The military life still beckoned. He returned to Canada and enlisted at the outbreak of the First World War. He saw four years of active fighting in the Canadian and English armies on the Western Front. When discharged as a major in 1919, he had won the 1914-15 Star, the British War and Victory Medals, and appointment as a Companion of the Distinguished Service Order.<sup>58</sup>

Obviously this man was not one of the New World's great adventurers. His outstanding physical courage, ingenuity, and elasticity of thinking stamp him as superior to the average soldier of fortune. Pryce lacked not skill but conviction. He was the only one of the filibustering breed oppressed by a sense of reluctance. Since even fanatical determination did not enable Walker to execute a successful filibuster, a conscience-ridden fortune-seeker was bound to fail. After succumbing to the nearly forgotten dream, he should have emulated other adventurers in eschewing the encumbrance of conventional scruples. Thus Pryce's modesty, his perpetual self-doubts, and his equalitarianism, while suggestive of a lesser Lawrence, ill suited the role he chose to play. Although the temper of the age was inimical, he chanced upon a situation of remarkable promise to an unscrupulous adventurer.

<sup>55</sup> Los Angeles *Express*, September 28, 1911.

<sup>56</sup> An excellent history of neutrality-law litigation was written by Roy E. Curtis, "The Law of Hostile Military Expeditions as Applied by the United States," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. VIII (1914), pp. 1-38, 224-56.

<sup>57</sup> Los Angeles newspapers, June 7, 1912; Edmund L. Smith, Clerk, United States District Court, Southern District of California, to the author, March 13, 1952. Pryce was cleared on July 22, 1913.

<sup>58</sup> Glenys Hembry, American Liaison Officer, Central Office of Information, London, England, to the author, January 15, 1953, supplying data provided by the British War Office.

Flores Magón, whose remains now rest in the Rotunda of Illustrious Men in Mexico, has not been ill-used by history. One can readily envision the Frankenstein monster that would have emerged had an inspired daredevil like Cortés been in Pryce's place. However short-lived the filibuster, the unwitting sponsor's reputation would have been buried with it. His case well illustrates the often slender margin between greatness and ignominy. As for Pryce, lacking total and unscrupulous self-assurance, he failed to achieve the necessary ruthless mastery of his surroundings. Hence his intrigues culminated in nothing more than a buffoon's free-for-all. In a gallery of filibusters in a museum of Latin-American history, Pryce's bust would be placed in the row behind those of Burr, Raousset, and Walker.

# Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

RICHARD HOWARD POWERS: *Edgar Quinet: A Study in French Patriotism*. Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1957. 207 pages. \$4.00.

Edgar Quinet was one of the most prominent French thinkers and historians in the middle nineteenth century. Born in 1803, he lived his youth in the shadow of Waterloo and participated, together with Michelet, in the revolutionary idealism of the 1840's. Like many of that generation, he lived through the cruel disappointment of the defeat of the Second French Republic by Louis Napoleon. Quinet went into exile. There he came to believe more and more that the failure of the French Revolution was due to the fact that France was deeply steeped in the Catholic tradition. The failure of the Reformation to take hold in France explained to Quinet why in France original liberal movements degenerated so easily into intolerance. This was due to the influence of the Catholic-educated masses. The English and the American revolutions had known nothing that compared with the Terror. Quinet explained their relative mildness by the fact that both had been born of Protestantism, whereas France had found it impossible to escape the tradition of intolerance and infallibility. Even after the Revolution, though France partly changed its Catholic face, the spirit remained the same. The proselytism and overcentralization of the Revolution

were Catholic in inspiration, as was the intolerant anticlericalism. When Quinet returned to France after the Battle of Sedan in 1870, he continued to represent there the idealistic republican patriotism of his generation. When he died in 1875, he could claim that he had remained faithful to the ideas of his younger years. In the face of experience he had lost the optimism of an illusionary liberalism; he therein was far-sighted as he had been far-sighted in his judgment of Germany at a time when the whole of intellectual France lived in a euphoric Germanomania.

Powers has written a penetrating study of Quinet's intellectual development, the first major study in English of one of the most interesting figures of nineteenth-century Europe. In the concluding pages, the author does justice to Quinet's nationalism. For some inexplicable reason, he stresses that Quinet's nationalism has little to do with that of modern totalitarianism. It is, as a matter of fact, an entirely different kind. As a nationalist and as a historian, Quinet, like Michelet, belongs to an older cosmopolitan tradition and was deeply steeped in universal religious values. "My country, right or wrong" was, as Powers rightly points out, completely foreign to his outlook. Quinet demanded from his people selflessness and dedication to universal ideas. He never cheered French diplomatic and military successes in themselves; between 1830 and

1875, France had few harsher critics. Fundamentally, Quinet did not pursue political ends but—like most of his generation who received their indelible imprint in the intellectual climate of the 1830's—moral and religious ends. He supplied, to use a famous word of Charles Péguy, *la mystique*, which later politicians of the Third Republic turned into *la politique*.

Hans Kohn  
City College of New York

DYCKMAN W. VERMILYE: *College Personnel Work in the South*. Atlanta, Southern Regional Education Board for the Southern College Personnel Association, 1956.

Vermilye's very readable report is a thought-provoking discussion of self-scrutiny by personnel workers from Southern campuses. The solutions for many of the questions raised require the co-operation of all educators. Because the members of the Southern College Personnel Association "have worried *today* about the *tomorrow* of youth in their colleges and universities, . . . about (1) the increased numbers of students who will enter college, (2) new types of programs and institutions, (3) the impending manpower shortage, and (4) racial integration," the association has conducted an annual Fall Conference and three workshops. The Southern Regional Education Board and the Hazen Foundation have participated. Vermilye, codirector of the third workshop, has in this publication recorded "the walk on the hills" of North Carolina so that educators in all regions may share the inspiration and challenge. The effective Preface was written by Melvene Hardee, di-

rector of the third and most auspicious of the workshops and now president of the association.

It is notable that all these workshops, held in the South by an association of institutions from all the Southern states, included both white and Negro delegates. The workshops have made considerable progress in solving the problem of the essential elements of a personnel program in institutions in the South. Beginnings are reported on two additional phases of work: "a sober questioning of the role of the student personnel workers on any campus and their proper relationship to higher education, and the question of the responsibility of educators for dealing with the system of values which students either bring to or develop on our campuses." This second phase is forcefully presented as the responsibility of all members of the academic community.

A review of the workshops includes introducing the consultants and setting forth the purposes and subjects of emphasis at each workshop. The most productive area of thought of the first workshop was suggested courses and content for a college training-program for college personnel workers, with emphasis on the fact that not a single college in the South offers a graduate program in this area of training. The second workshop studied the need for changing the emphasis in training. The third, of which "The Contemporary Student in Higher Education" was the theme, included professional educators who were not personnel workers, as well as two students.

One chapter presents the objectives of student personnel workers, the philosophy of the purposes of education in general, and the need for a

basic reappraisal—in light of the increasing size of schools and classes—of the various essential contributions to the education of students made by personnel workers on various campuses. The question of values "implicit in higher education" occupied progressively more time at each workshop.

A Regional Commission on Student Personnel has been created "to outline a method for developing evaluative criteria" and "to outline ways in which the Commission might participate in helping with in-service training of faculty members in student personnel work."

Excerpts from the keynote address by Ray Birdwhistell, cultural anthropologist and consultant at the third workshop, give some idea of his "iconoclastic challenge." The publication is an enlightening presentation of creditable development in Southern education.

Stella Traweck  
University of Texas

ARTHUR E. SUTHERLAND: *The Law and One Man among Many*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1956. 101 pages. \$2.50.

JAMES WILLARD HURST: *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century United States*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1956. 139 pages. \$2.50.

These two publications from the University of Wisconsin Press reproduce a series of lectures given by Sutherland at the University of Wisconsin School of Law under the auspices of the Rundell lectureship and by Hurst at Northwestern University

School of Law under the auspices of the Rosenthal Foundation. Both books bear eloquent testimony to the worth of endowed lectureships in subsidizing the publication of scholarly works that might otherwise have difficulty in finding publishers in our system, where the volume of sales rather than quality of content often seems to be the deciding factor.

Sutherland's book is the more general of the two. With an ease of style and a depth of scholarship that never becomes pedantic, the author deals with the problem of individualism in modern society and its relation to the legal system. His thesis is that "individualism" is never completely attained in any given social structure and that the meaning given to the term varies with the historic epoch in which it is used. In order to maximize freedom, it is necessary to impose restraints upon individuals so that freedom in general may flourish. In this task the law has played a significant role. Sutherland cites numerous examples of how our courts have grappled with the problem of balancing the conflicting claims of individuals and society in order to produce by addition and subtraction the most tolerable expression of individualism compatible with the conditions of the time. In this undertaking, law emerges as the factor which makes individualism and freedom possible. To achieve this the law exercises its power of judgment between the conflicting claims of individuals among themselves and with society. To do this effectively some standard of justice as the basis for decision-making must be presumed, varying from crude theories of force to concepts of the overriding character of divine or natural law. The author concludes that in



America today the standard of decision is a theory of justice based on compromise involving "a blend of motives and a mixture of political theories." This formulation is evidential of man's acknowledgment of the need for justice of some kind as a standard for decision-making and, as the author concludes, "the very presence of this aspiration, its continuance through all disappointment and doubt, should be a reason for our abiding wonder."

Hurst's work is more limited in scope and more detailed, concerned as it is with the problems of law and freedom in nineteenth-century America. The first portion of his book deals with the use of law as a means of releasing the energy essential to the construction and building of the new nation. Accompanying this was the belief that law could be used as a means of controlling the environment and shaping it to men's desires. By 1870 the law had dealt successfully with the political challenge of the post-Revolutionary period and the physical and economic challenges of the expanding nation. After 1870 a new social order, marked by the development of industrialism, expanding population, corporate and financial growth, and the increasing complexity of social organization, presented grave problems. Here again law intervened to create a balance of power between the conflicting forces with a view to safeguarding both individual and group freedom. From this discussion law emerges as one of the creative influences in American evolution and likewise as a progressive and liberalizing force.

Both of these works will prove of value to legal and social historians and to all those interested in the techniques by which man seeks to achieve his con-

cept of the good life. Both books are recommended to thoughtful students of the American scene.

H. Malcolm Macdonald  
University of Texas

MANLEY HOWE JONES: *Executive Decision Making*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 485 pages. \$6.00.

Discussion of the actual decision-making process occupies about one fifth of the space in this book, the remainder being devoted to a consideration of techniques that may be used to gain the acceptance of decisions after they have been made and to a detailed study of the place of planning in the life of a corporation. An obvious interrelationship exists among the functions of administration, but to this reviewer it appears the author has combined two books in one, the first centering about decision-making, the second stressing the problems of planning in a dynamic society.

In discussing decision-making, Jones utilizes a series of diagrams to depict the idea of goals, which he divides into "ultimate," "intermediate," and "means-end chains." The remainder of this section can be summarized as advocating a systematic approach to problem-solving founded on elementary logic.

Jones struggles with a problem in semantics in the section that deals with gaining the acceptance of decisions. The reader will be well advised to note carefully the particular definition of "authority" used by the author. A weakness of Part II lies in the failure to discuss in proportionate detail the sig-

nificance of delegated or "formal" authority.

In Part III, the author is concerned with the task of conceiving and launching long-range company plans. Stress is laid on the changing environments to which the firm must accommodate itself, the desirability of determining the niche which careful planning should cut for the company, and the problem of implementing long-range planning at the departmental level.

It is obvious that Jones has put a vast effort into *Executive Decision Making*, and a great many sensible comments are found therein. There can be no doubt that decision-making is a function of management which needs persistent investigation and that it has suffered in the past from being taken too much for granted. This book does not quite seem to meet the need. It could have been more tightly written. The author displays a tendency to accept generalizations that are at best half-truths, such as the dictum that "the boss's job is to conceive better alternatives than those a subordinate originates," or the remark that "a man cannot pursue leadership by thinking and acting egocentrically."

Ronald B. Shuman  
University of Oklahoma

ROBERT H. LOWIE: *The Crow Indians*. New York, Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1956. 350 pages. \$3.00.

This is a paperback reissue of the 1935 edition, with the original plates and the addition of a brief preface.

Today there may be found in Montana and Wyoming the remnants of the great Crow nation, once so important in that area. Long the friends

of the white men, they welcomed Lewis and Clark in 1805, and did not display the hostility to the encroaching whites exhibited subsequently by the Blackfeet and some bands of the Sioux.

Lowie studied the Crow Indians extensively in 1907, 1910-1916, and again in 1931. He talked to elderly Indians who had personally participated in the old way of life—the horse-stealing expeditions, the war parties, and the buffalo hunts. This book represents his findings and is one of the most thorough surveys in print of a Plains tribe culture. As one chapter title indicates, Dr. Lowie takes the Crow literally from "The Cradle to the Grave." Political and social organization, religion, literature, and recreation are all treated fully. No attempt is made, however, to trace, even in outline, the history of Crow relations with the United States.

In his 1956 Preface, the author refers to the theme of the book as the aboriginal Crow culture and explains that the paucity of additional material in the new edition is due to the inevitable disintegration of the aboriginal culture. Inasmuch as some of the value of the original volume resulted from his observations of the impact of civilization on an aboriginal culture, it is regrettable that he did not go into greater detail on those changes which have occurred in the last generation.

Since the book is designed for the general public, a general revision would also have offered an opportunity for condensing and rewriting portions of the book that are difficult reading for one not trained in anthropology.

Nevertheless, we of a new generation of students of the American Indian are grateful to the author and to

the publisher for the opportunity of adding to our libraries this new edition of a classic in Indian lore.

William T. Hagan  
North Texas State College

CARL J. FRIEDRICH and ZBIGNIEW K. BRZEZINSKI: *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1956. 346 pages. \$5.50.

Totalitarian dictatorship, according to the authors, is a social configuration without historical precedent. It is characterized by the juxtaposition of six traits: (1) total, or all-embracing, ideology; (2) a single party typically led by one man; (3) a system of terroristic police control; (4) a monopoly of the means of mass communication; (5) a monopoly of weapons; and (6) a centrally directed economy.

Thus defined, totalitarian dictatorship is submitted to a comparative analysis, with emphasis on communism in the Soviet Union (chosen because of the long duration of the experiment). Germany under Hitler and Mussolini's Italy receive less attention, and Red China and the satellites are mentioned mainly to show that the trend is toward the full realization of the Soviet model. Perón's Argentina is treated as a nation where development toward totalitarianism miscarried because the government's control of the army was incomplete.

One of the peculiarities of the book under review is the assertion that totalitarianism does not come into existence by seizure of power but by seizure of the control of the existing government. This is a dubious proposition indeed since, in 1917, Lenin seized power and

created a new government *a tabula rasa*. Nevertheless, the reviewer does not know of any book offering a better-integrated knowledge about Communist society, and perhaps also about Fascist society. Is it, however, scientifically adequate to construct a concept of totalitarian dictatorship covering both? The authors introduce "total ideology" into the number of the essential traits, but Fascist ideology was too fragmentary to be "total." On the other hand, the differences between Communist and Fascist ideologies are, in many regards, so great that the authors are hard put to find common denominators relative to the family, the state-church relations, the relations between the ruling party and the armed forces and, especially, the forms of "directed economy" which have resulted, in Communist society, in turning upside down the class structure but only in mildly relocating individuals, relatively speaking, among the social classes of Fascist society.

Of great interest is the discussion of the "limits of terror" conducive to the lack of communication between the hierarchy and the rest of the people, as well as of "the islands of separatedness" into which totalitarianism fails to penetrate completely, among which the authors count the family, the churches, the universities, and the armed forces. Remarkably good, also, is their treatment of the general problem of resistance.

The book is almost free of factual errors. The most serious is perhaps the interpretation of the decree of the CC of the CPSU of November 11, 1954, as an exhortation to accentuate anti-religious propaganda, whereas, in actuality, it discontinued the antireligious campaign of 1954. Likewise the Ru-

manian decree of 1950 did not initiate, there and then, the registration of typewriters; a similar decree had been issued in the RSFSR in 1918, on the basis of which the present reviewer's typewriter was registered, then confiscated, and finally returned upon the intervention of Maxim Gorky.

N. S. Timasheff  
Fordham University

EDWARD H. BOWMAN and ROBERT B.

FETTER: *Analysis for Production Management*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 503 pages. \$6.50.

This book presents relatively new problem-solving techniques and their applications to modern business problems. Although much of the material has appeared in bits and snatches elsewhere, the book brings together between two covers a very descriptive and readable analysis of various disciplined approaches to decision-making, together with many problems and cases of a very practical nature. The authors assume that the potential reader has some knowledge of mathematics, statistics, and econometrics and that he will study rather than merely browse its contents.

The book does not exhaust any one area of thought; that, apparently, is not its purpose. It does, however, present four sections, each devoted to groups of related analytical procedures. They are briefly explained by the following comments:

Section I, "Orientation," contains a brief history of scientific management, the scientific method of attacking problems, and a description of the sche-

matic models so useful to the industrial manager.

Section II, "Mathematical Programming," has a good introduction to basic linear programming techniques along with refined variations. This section will be found useful in gaining insight into problems where limited resources must be applied to maximize or minimize an objective.

Section III, "Statistical Analysis," deals rather lightly with sampling, reliability, analysis of variances, and quality-control limits. The section picks up where elementary statistics texts leave off, relative to the areas mentioned.

In Section IV, "Economic Analysis," the term "economic analysis" is used by the authors to encompass various phases of economic model-building and solutions thereof. The section deals mainly with cause-and-effect relationships of an order higher than simple and partial correlation. The methods examined range from applications wherein one solution is possible to situations wherein a variety of solutions allow for subjective decision-making. The examples given cover a wide variety of selected business problems, and solutions to all of them are vital to efficiency and economy of operations.

The book undoubtedly has merit in bringing theory closer to practice in decision-making. Since it borders on, and brings together, several areas of analytical thought, it becomes a flexible text that can be modified to fit the fields of industrial management, administration, and engineering.

R. M. Stevenson  
Texas Agricultural and  
Mechanical College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER: *Germany's New Conservatism: Its History and Dilemma in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957. 250 pages. \$5.00.

Klemens von Klemperer, now at Smith College, has in this book added a fascinating detail to the current discussion of conservatism as a valid approach to the political problems of the twentieth century. Having himself lived through much of the period described, he brings to his book both the attributes of a scholar and the realism of an observer. Beginning with the nineteenth-century background, he traces the formulation of German conservative thought through its revival in the Youth movements of the late nineteenth century and in the period of the First World War. Following this, he discusses neoconservatism during the 1918 revolution, the development of the Weimar Republic, and the rise of national bolshevism. In a separate section he analyzes the writings of Moeller van den Bruck, Oswald Spengler, and Ernst Junger as representative, respectively, of the elements of mystical corporativism, pessimism, and nihilism in neoconservative thinking. He concludes with a discussion of the relationship between neoconservatism and national socialism.

Emerging from his study is the conclusion that German neoconservatism was unable to respond to the challenge of the times. With the abandonment of monarchy as a valid political concept, and the acceptance of some form of socialism as inevitable, the neoconservatives had either to accept the Republic and work to give it an ideological basis and support or, by alienation from it,

turn toward a nihilistic theory and a gradual drift toward dictatorship. The tragedy of German conservatism lay in the fact that with the death of its elder statesmen—men like Troeltsch, Naumann, Weber, and Rathenau—the movement gravitated toward an alliance with the Right which seemed essential if it was to develop any rapport with the masses and overcome the traditional gap between intellectual leadership and mass support. In this attempt the movement failed to accomplish either the task successfully performed in England by the Tory party of democratizing the society, or of maintaining its own intellectual integrity. In this latter sense it committed, as the author notes, what Julien Benda called the *trahison des clercs*. The tragic climax was the merging of neoconservatism with the Nazi movement from which alliance the conservatives attempted to withdraw too late. The purge of Röhm in 1934, and the conservative conspiracy of 1944 demonstrated, however, that the neoconservatives had recognized the error of their ways and that ultimately conservatism rejected the way of totalitarianism.

The failure of German conservatism to gauge properly the dynamics of modern society was due in part to the historic traditions out of which it grew and in part to its lack of outstanding intellectual leadership. This failure is a warning to our contemporary conservatives to learn from the experiences of their German fellows and to realize that conservatism can achieve its goals only if it grasps the constantly changing character of society and the necessity of fighting the conservative battle in terms of the realities of a given historic situation.

The author is to be commended for

painstaking research in the source materials and for his dispassionate treatment of his subject. In many ways the story he tells is a tragic one; yet from tragedy can come wisdom and understanding.

H. Malcolm Macdonald  
University of Texas

WILLIAM P. TUCKER: *The Mexican Government Today*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1957. 484 pages. \$6.50.

Only infrequently do Latin-American scholars dissect and review the structure and functioning of their respective governments in the manner customary with our own political scientists, and the works they do produce receive relatively little attention north of the Rio Grande. Tucker's purpose is to produce a text on the government of Mexico, organized basically on the pattern familiar to students of government here in the United States, which will explain both the legalistic structure and the practical operation of politics and government in our neighboring republic.

The author utilizes a traditional organization. The work is prefaced with a seventy-page introduction to familiarize the reader with the land, the people, and the history. There are two chapters, relatively much too brief, on two important subjects: church and state, and parties and politics. Following are sections dealing with the structure of the national government, an extended treatment of the administrative functions, concepts, and problems of that government, and, in keeping

with the relative unimportance of state and local government, a brief survey of those areas.

The development of the individual topics is well conceived. Although the author avoids conscious comparisons with United States forms and practices—comparisons that become objectionable when they assume incorrectly that Latin America's political experience and goals are basically the same as ours—his descriptions and analyses are made understandable by carefully adapting familiar terms. His presentation uses the pattern of outlining the constitutional and legislative bounds of each area discussed, then moving from what is often the written constitutional aspiration to a realistic description of the practical operation of government in that area. Throughout he emphasizes the characteristic features of Mexican government: the concept of the more immediate nature of constitutions, the dominant position of the general government within the federal framework, the dominance of the executive branch within the national government, the extensive constitutional and political powers of the president himself, and such enduring frailties as official partyism, administrative laxity, political favoritism, and the difficulty of securing free and effective public expression at the polls.

Viewed broadly, Tucker's study provides a valuable block of factual material in a needed area. The criticism that more detailed treatment would have enhanced such sections as parties and politics, finance, administration, or local government is offset by the acknowledged paucity, by our standards, of dependable sources and by the sim-



ple fact that the entire study has been undertaken and produced.

Floyd Ewing  
Midwestern University

PERRY H. HOWARD: *Political Tendencies in Louisiana: 1812-1952*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1957. 231 pages. \$3.75.

This is a scientific and interpretative story of Louisiana politics from 1812 through 1952, written in the belief that political behavior can be explained in terms of economic, religious, ethnic, and ethical values. Howard has analyzed all the Presidential and gubernatorial elections that have been significant, explaining changes in political attitudes and the rise of new tendencies.

After a well-written sketch of relief, religion, population, and crop regions, he deals with constitutional government from 1812 through Secession. He describes the period of Whig control until 1842, the influence of French colonial experience, and Democratic control through Secession. One chapter takes a "new look" at Reconstruction as partisanship finally merges into Populism and the Populist-Republican fusion of the 1890's. The chapter on the rise of Longism describes Huey's mission and his legacy, with little detail on his record and dictatorship. The last chapter deals with recent developments, with emphasis on the elections of 1952.

This work has a scholarly approach and the execution is scientific. Of the more than 140 citations and footnote references, more than 30 are from

graduate theses, and most of the others are from state documents and social-science magazines. The writer, a native of Maine, remains consistently objective and is an understanding investigator of the vagaries of Louisiana politics.

There are many significant interpretations and conclusions recorded. In the 1880's "the lack of widespread Negro intimidation in South Louisiana must be attributed to the French cultural background and the presence of the Catholic church." Populism is treated as a last phase of reconstruction and "the Long movement was a continuation of Populism." After the "great disfranchisement" of the constitution of 1898, "one fourth of the white voters were disfranchised" and "the decrease in Negro registration was over 95 per cent." Huey Long reduced tax assessments, distributed 500,000 free textbooks, brought 175,000 adults into night schools, built modern roads and bridges, a new state capitol and executive mansion, charity and mental hospitals, etc. His record of achievement was "tangible and durable." "Al Smith polled a majority in every parish [county] in 1928." "The Dixiecrats in 1948 polled 49.8 per cent of the total presidential vote in Louisiana." "The most significant phenomenon in 1952 was the increased Negro participation in the political battle."

In an interesting discussion of the elections of 1952 and the future, the author gives a hint, amounting practically to a prediction, for 1956: "Changes in the social structure through recent industrialization and urbanization have produced a new basis for social stratification. . . . The economically dominant classes and

their associates . . . have displayed a growing tendency . . . to bolt the party of their forefathers."

S. S. McKay

*Texas Technological College*

JOHN MAURICE CLARK: *Economic Institutions and Human Welfare*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1957. 285 pages. \$7.50.

The author is the distinguished son of a distinguished father, one who is known as the only American economist to achieve a reputation in the field of classical, or neoclassical, economics. Clark, *filis*, has also achieved an enviable reputation as a "social" economist, concerned with more than the narrowly "technical" aspects of the economy, i.e., the "market" forces operating in accordance with economic "laws" or principles.

The author explains in the Preface to this collection of essays that he is concerned with the elements of the community setting in which the "market" operates. This setting involves social attitudes and institutions without which economic laws or principles cannot work. Other elements of the community setting are "the standards of value or conceptions of welfare and the motivations and ethical standards that work toward making these conceptions of welfare effective."

The community setting analyzed by the author is primarily the United States, but it also extends to the other parts of the "Western" world where Western economic thought has been influential in organizing economic activity and in defining "welfare."

The final chapter considers the relation of Western economic thought to

the current world struggle and raises the question of whether the West has an exportable ideology. His answer in part is that in order to export our ideology successfully we need to explain better to ourselves, as well as to other peoples, the bases on which the serviceability of our system rests.

Some of the essays have been published in other collections or have been delivered as addresses under various auspices, but they have all been selected, revised, and related to the theme of this volume: the relation between the economic life of a country and the general welfare of its citizens. The book has been written and published for both the layman and the economist. The economists already acquainted with the author's earlier works will expect his discussion to be practical and optimistic; laymen will be surprised and delighted to find an economic analysis so wise and yet so readable.

Virginia B. Sloan

*New Mexico Highlands University*

GEORGE C. GUINS: *Communism on the Decline*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 287 pages. \$7.50.

Under what circumstances can the total dictatorship of the Soviet Union disappear? It is indeed timely that Russian scholar George Guins has chosen to focus his most recent work on this absorbing question.

This volume attempts to show through both valuable and exhaustive examples from Soviet newspapers and literature that communism presents a "degeneration of the whole Soviet system." This degeneration leads Guins

to conclude that a "significant inner disorder" exists in the Soviet Union. The promise of social equality has resulted only in a new privileged class. Exploitation of man by the state has been substituted for exploitation of man by man. Guins finds that the Soviet planned economy must bear the final responsibility for the "symptoms of dissatisfaction" to be found in the Soviet Union today. The "abolition . . . of individual economic enterprises . . . deprives the nation of very valuable entrepreneur activity and of a school of practical education in which people learn careful calculation, thrift, and industriousness." Soviet planning favors the privileged few and is characterized by extravagant waste.

Few would dispute that totalitarian planning is an undesirable product; yet one wonders why the author fails to distinguish between democratic and totalitarian planning. As Friedrich and Brzezinski have pointed out in their recent (1956) *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, totalitarian planning is a necessary concomitant of autocratic total revolution—and it is this *political* quality that sets it apart from democratic planning. Guins' belief that planning per se is the primary cause of the Soviet's present inner tensions could, therefore, be questioned.

The author finds that the Soviet Union has been successful in the areas of heavy industry and military potential but has failed signally in the fields of agriculture and the production of consumer goods. With respect to the prospects for change toward the better, the author is pessimistic, since revolution as yet is not visible. Yet, although Guins admits that the communist regime might continue for many years and makes no predictions in regard to

this question, he does see the seeds of its ultimate doom.

Even though the author presents more than adequate evidence concerning the regularized patterns of violence in the Soviet Union, it is difficult to share his optimistic conclusion that these patterns must spell the eventual destruction of the Soviet Union.

Werner F. Grunbaum  
University of Houston

JOHN N. HAZARD: *The Soviet System of Government*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957. 256 pages. \$4.00.

The central puzzle confronting all who seek to depict the government of the U.S.S.R. is how to explain, describe, and evaluate a paradox—i.e., the coexistence of "the most democratic constitution in the world" with the persisting fact of oligarchy, semantically disguised as "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and ranging in form through the years from Lenin's "democratic centralism" to Stalin's Caesarism and, more recently, to "collective leadership" and groping efforts at liberalization. In the early 1930's the Webbs mistakenly sought a solution in the concept of "multiform democracy." The late Samuel N. Harper and Ronald Thompson stressed the relationships between formal organs of power and "mass organizations." Julian Towster and Merle Fainsod, in their monumental texts, fruitfully employed other approaches to the problem.

Hazard, professor of public law at Columbia, member of the Russian Institute, prewar Fellow in the Soviet Union of the Institute of Current World Affairs, and an outstanding

American authority on Soviet jurisprudence, herewith presents his own suggestive contribution to the solution of the puzzle. The book is the first publication of the Chicago Library of Comparative Politics and was edited by Roy C. Macridis. It is a brief and modest work, richer in thought-provoking generalizations and hypotheses than in factual content—albeit containing helpful charts, the texts of the Russian constitution and of the latest version of the Party rules, and a useful annotated bibliography.

Hazard's "key" to the paradox is this: the Marxist masters of Muscovy evolved "democratic" forms in an effort to "please" and befuddle the masses, but simultaneously created "counterweights" to make certain that the democratic forms could never be used to select leaders or influence policy. This formula he applies consistently and brilliantly in thirteen chapters dealing with all significant aspects of the Soviet system of power. The net result is at once an admirable college text and a provocative analysis that all alert citizens may read with profit.

Hazard concludes that "there is no reason to think that Stalin's heirs intend to institute a democratic system of government." While this judgment is undoubtedly sound, intention may yet yield to necessity. The urbanized, industrialized, and educated Russia of today can no longer be ruled by terror, intolerance, and personal despotism. The oligarchs much therefore find ways to democratize the regime or face frustration, failure, and possible future revolution. No one has presented more ably than John Hazard the institutional

context within which the oligarchs must grapple with this issue.

Frederick L. Schuman  
Williams College

EVRON M. KIRKPATRICK (ed): *Target: The World—Communist Propaganda Activities in 1955*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1956. 362 pages. \$5.00.

Most of us have heard of the vast Soviet propaganda machinery that competes with the free world's truth. Here, finally, is a book that not only describes what the Communists have done to promote their ideologies, but at the same time systematically evaluates the tactics employed. For the student of Soviet Russia, or for those interested in world affairs, the book is both disturbing and enlightening.

Kirkpatrick, who is executive director of the American Political Science Association, has lifted from the broad program of Communist propaganda a segment that vividly, and quite often despondently, illustrates the gigantic weapon aimed at destroying Western democracy. Although his writings of Communist propaganda activities for 1955 have undoubtedly been augmented by additional policies of 1956 and 1957, he nevertheless reveals the true and unchanging core around which the various policies fluctuate, and it is not difficult for the reader to keep in mind the goal toward which this propagandistic deluge has been directed.

Perhaps the most shocking aspect of this work is the massive quantity of data to be found, page after page. It buries the reader with excerpts from

newspapers, magazines, books, radio and television programs, cultural and economic-exchange programs, athletic contests, and films, all of which are used to promulgate communism throughout the world.

Another important aspect of this book, aside from the excellent description of propaganda techniques, is in the area of geography. Apart from the over-all basic policies that provide a foundation for the world-wide Communist program, tactics are shifted and adapted to particular regional needs. This work divides such programs into several geographic areas particularly vulnerable to Communist infiltration.

Of interest to many Americans, and especially to Texans, is the Communist program in Mexico, directed toward closer alliances with both Russia and Communist China. The Mexican-Russian Institute of Cultural Exchange, one of the principal vehicles for the Soviet cultural offensive against our southern neighbor, maintains branch offices in several Mexican cities, including Monterrey and Saltillo, less than 150 miles from Laredo, Texas.

Undoubtedly Communist activities in the Middle East during 1955 accounted for internal pressures which in turn contributed to anti-Western sentiments being felt today. A shrewd amalgamation of Arab nationalism and Soviet communism has left Western diplomacy upon a precarious perch in that area, and disciples of the latter force utilize all media available to topple the West and to win for the Soviet orbit this populous and oil-rich area. Even in Israel, where the West seemingly found a champion to stem anti-Western tides, the Communist party is a legally founded and operated

political organization, working endlessly to "free" the Jew from Western imperialism.

A tragic note within the volume is the realization that while the Communist program continues to grow on all fronts, here at home we are reducing by almost half its American counterpart, the United States Information Agency. A brief comparison of Kirkpatrick's material and the review of operations of the USIA as submitted to Congress in the agency's fifth semi-annual report by the then Director Theodore C. Streibert leaves much to be desired for the American program. One wonders about the effectiveness of our own information programs and asks whether they should not perhaps be enlarged rather than reduced.

Merrell Frazer, Jr.  
Washington, D.C.

MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD: *Up-Hill All the Way*. Yellow Springs, Ohio, The Antioch Press, 1956. 255 pages. \$4.00.

The biography of Maynard Shipley, written by his wife, is an interesting document, not only because Shipley was a man of some talent and greater than average ability, but because he achieved his learning without formal training at a university. Born in a middle-class family of declining fortunes, Shipley's father was an unintelligent and unsympathetic man. His spirited boy was sent to a correctional institution because of minor derelictions. While such an experience might permanently scar many, Shipley's subsequent career was not much influenced by this unfortunate experience. He

went West, became a salesman, had affairs with a number of women, and became attracted to unpopular ideas.

Shipley was evidently a natural-born student, and he developed competence in law and in a number of sciences. He fought against capital punishment and became a Socialist, for which cause he spoke and wrote. He was active in the Socialist party, but the latter years of his life were spent in defending science against attack. He organized the National Science League, and he wrote, spoke, and debated against those who were opposed to the teaching of evolution in our schools. Though not formally trained, Shipley had a good grasp of his subject, and his work received favorable notice in learned journals. It seems, however, that he enjoyed his rough-and-tumble debates with fundamentalist preachers more than anything else. Shipley was a type not often found in our contemporary world: a man of advanced ideas, devoting himself to popular education and the enlightenment of the public. Though he was a freethinker, his apparent faith in the beneficence of science resembles a religious belief. The book is an interesting and affectionate document and one worth reading.

Philip Taft  
Brown University

life of man derives from the Old Testament; the existence of God is presupposed, and most of the recent philosophers who receive attention—Spinoza, Bergson, and Buber—are Jewish. As an introduction to the ethics of Judaism, then, this work may have merit, but the claim of the subtitle—that it is a study of the "philosophical foundations" of the moral life of man—is ridiculous.

It has been, and probably always will be, the fate of philosophy to have much that is worthless written in its name. But when one reads a chapter in a new book such as the one here entitled "Moral Freedom," he is depressed by the further thought that the same worthless material will be rewritten and republished indefinitely. Here are the old errors and confusions served up again: references to the work of Heisenberg and Hoyle, for example, lending an air of topicality to Kohn's erroneous belief that the discoveries of science can affect the issue of "free will" one way or another.

Whether this work is good Judaic theology this reviewer is not qualified to say, but since the author treats the writings of Spinoza and James K. Feibleman with equal solemnity, it seems improbable.

D. C. Yalden-Thomson  
University of Virginia

JACOB KOHN: *The Moral Life of Man*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956. 252 pages. \$3.75.

The author of this book is dean of the Graduate School and associate professor of theology at the University of Judaism at Los Angeles. He was a rabbi. Thus his account of the moral

ABRAHAM SHUCHMAN: *Codetermination: Labor's Middle Way in Germany*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1957. 247 pages. \$4.50.

Codetermination has in recent years swept through the continental labor movements and has been endorsed, in one form or another, by both Catholic



and Socialist trade unions. As an ideology it propounds that greater social control over industry and the economy can be secured without sacrificing democratic freedoms, and that such control can be achieved through the participation of workers in decision-making for industry and the economy. Both in theory and in practice, codetermination has reached its most advanced stage of development in West Germany and has been, throughout the postwar period, the principal goal of the West German Federation of Trade Unions. As a result, Germany has enacted legislation which grants labor greater rights of participation in industrial decision-making than labor possesses anywhere else.

Shuchman draws mainly on German experience and labor, basing his study on an examination of this process at close hand during the better part of a year spent in West Germany. He has drawn upon both the very extensive literature available in German and the reactions of the German leaders. This is the first comprehensive analysis of codetermination as an ideology and program to be published in the United States, and is one that also evaluates the meaning, evolution, and economic implications of this process. The author is to be congratulated for handling his subject so comprehensively and in such an able academic manner.

Joseph S. Roucek  
University of Bridgeport

## Other Books Received

September, 1957

Allen, Francis, Hornell Hart, Delbert Miller, William Ogburn, and Meyer

F. Nimkoff: *Technology and Social Change*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957.

Arbingast, Stanley, Sylva Bowlby, and Tom Greer: *An Economic Survey of Burnet, Texas*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1957. 66 pages. \$1.50.

Brinton, Crane, John B. Christopher, and Robert Lee Wolff: *Modern Civilization*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. 868 pages. \$8.75.

Brown, Robert E.: *Charles Beard and the Constitution*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1956. 219 pages. \$3.50.

Burns, James MacGregor, and Jack Walter Peltason: *Government by the People*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. 990 pages. \$7.25.

Directory: *Austin, Texas, Manufacturers 1956-1958*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1957. 38 pages.

Dorpalen, Andreas: *Heinrich von Treitschke*. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1957. 345 pages. \$6.00.

Eldersveld, Samuel J.: *Political Affiliation in Metropolitan Detroit*. Michigan Governmental Studies, No. 34. University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, 1957. 199 pages.

Fairchild, Henry Pratt: *Anatomy of Freedom*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. 103 pages. \$3.50.

- Fairfield, Letitia: *Epilepsy*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. 159 pages. \$4.75.
- The Ford Foundation Annual Report 1956: October 1, 1955-September 30, 1956*. Michigan, 1956. 286 pages.
- Gitlow, Abraham L.: *Labor Economics and Industrial Relations*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 724 pages. \$6.75.
- Gregory, Paul: *The Baseball Player*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1956. 213 pages. \$3.75.
- Grimes, Marcene: *Government and Natural Resources in Kansas: Water*. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1957. 87 pages.
- Guthrie, John A.: *Economics*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 537 pages.
- Havens, Murray C.: *City Versus Farm*. Birmingham, Ala., Birmingham Printing Company, 1957. 56 pages.
- The Hungarian Situation and the Rule of Law*. International Commission of Jurists, The Hague, Netherlands, 1957. 144 pages.
- International Bibliography of Political Science*. Vol. IV. Paris, UNESCO, 1957. 309 pages.
- International Bibliography of Sociology*. Vol. V. Switzerland, UNESCO, 1957. 293 pages.
- International Social Science Bulletin: Cross-Cultural Education and Educational Travel*. Vol. VIII, No. 4. Paris, UNESCO, 1956. 174 pages. \$1.00.
- Irons, Watrous, and Douglas Bellemore: *Commercial Credit and Collection Practice*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1957. 784 pages. \$6.75.
- Jome, Hiram L.: *Principles of Money and Banking*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 622 pages. \$6.50.
- Kampelman, Max M.: *The Communist Party vs. the C.I.O.* New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1957. 299 pages. \$6.00.
- Latham, Earl: *Political Theories of Monopoly Power*. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1957. 15 pages. \$0.75.
- Lewis, Howard T., and Wilburn B. England: *Procurement: Principles and Cases* (3d ed.). Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 913 pages. \$6.50.
- McGregor, C. H.: *Retail Management Problems*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1957. 257 pages.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: *Bulletin Signalétique (Anciennement Bulletin Analytique): Volume X, No. 4, Philosophie Sciences Humaines*. Paris, Centre de Documentation du C.N.R.S., 1956. 209 pages.
- Modigliani, Piero: *Journal of a Scientist*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. 136 pages. \$3.75.
- Pound, Roscoe: *Legal Immunities of Labor Unions*. Washington, D.C., American Enterprise Association, Inc., 1957. 58 pages. \$1.00.

- Rodee, Carlton C., Totton J. Anderson, and Carl Q. Christol: *Introduction to Political Science*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957. 655 pages. \$6.00.
- Rosenberg, Bernard: *The Values of Veblen*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press. 172 pages. \$2.50.
- Schneider, Wilbert: *The American Bankers Association*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1956. 275 pages. \$5.00.
- Sociology of Science: A Trend Report and Bibliography*. *Current Sociology*. Vol. V, No. 2. Paris, UNESCO, 1957. 153 pages.
- Stanley, Timothy W.: *American Defense and National Security*. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1956. 202 pages. \$3.25.
- Stark, Harry: *Modern Latin America*. Coral Gables, Fla., University of Miami Press, University of Miami, 1957. 336 pages. \$2.50.
- Wilder, Bessie E.: *Governmental Agencies of the State of Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1957. 141 pages.

# News and Notes

## *Accounting*

FRANK BAIN, associate professor of accounting at McNeese State College, was on the program of the Economics Conference held at Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

MARY BEELER, instructor in accounting, Louisiana State University, has accepted a position with Dow Chemical Corporation in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

R. O. BENNETT, associate professor of accounting, is a member of the board of directors of the Sabine National Association of Cost Accountants Chapter.

J. HERMAN BRASSEAU has been appointed instructor in accounting at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1957.

ROBERT KVAM has accepted a position as assistant professor of accounting at Michigan State University, beginning in September, 1957.

ELZY V. MCCOLLOUGH has been promoted to associate professor of accounting at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1957.

R. L. ROUSE, associate professor of accounting at McNeese State College, has opened his own accounting office in Lake Charles, Louisiana.

OTHEL D. WESTFALL has been made David Ross Boyd Professor of Accounting, University of Oklahoma.

## *Anthropology*

JOSEPH A. BRACKETT has been awarded a fellowship in anthropology at the University of Chicago.

D. FRED WENDORF, associate professor of anthropology, has opened the Texas Technological College archeological field school at Pot Creek, ten miles southeast of Taos, New Mexico. Designed to provide training in historical and archeological excavation and restoration, the school will be conducted there each summer.

## *Business Administration*

THE MISSOURI POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION was organized on April 15, 1957, with representatives from fifteen Missouri colleges and universities meeting in Columbia. Officers elected for the first year are: DAVID HORTON, president; DAVID C. SCOTT, vice-president; and ROBERT F. KARSCH, secretary-treasurer. At the initial meeting, THOMAS H. ELIOT, PAUL G. STEINBICKER, and JOHN S. BOLLENS presented a program on the work of the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey. The association, in collaboration with the Washington University affiliate of the Citizenship Clearing House, held a conference at the University of Missouri on July 12, 1957, on how to interest students in political matters and in careers in the government service. Participating in the conference, in addition to members of the association, were Hugh P. Williamson, assistant attorney general of Missouri; Donald R. Harvey, chief of the Examining Division of the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C.; and John W. Godbold, Civil Service regional director, St. Louis, Missouri.

ARTHUR B. ADAMS, dean emeritus of the College of Business Administration, and Regents Professor of Economics, retired April 16, 1957, after more than forty-four years as a faculty member and administrator at the University of Oklahoma. He retired on his seventieth birthday.

E. KARL ASHBURN, dean of the Division of Commerce at McNeese State College, has been appointed a member of the Port Development Committee at Lake Charles, and is also a member of the Louisiana Committee on Industrial Development.

RICHARD BUSKIRK, assistant professor of marketing, University of Oklahoma, has resigned to accept a position at the University of Colorado.

JAMES E. CALDWELL has been appointed instructor in business administration at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1957.

VINCENT CANGELOSI has been promoted to assistant professor, College of Business Administration, University of Arkansas.

MARTIN L. FAUST, chairman of the Political Science Department at the University of Missouri, served as visiting professor of political science at the University of Illinois during the summer session.

WILLIAM GORE, assistant professor of political science, University of Kansas, has resigned to accept a similar position in the School of Business and Public Administration, Cornell University.

FRANCIS H. HELLER, professor of political science at the University of Kansas, has been named associate

dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at that institution.

DAVID HORTON, professor of political science at Westminster College (Missouri), served as visiting professor of political science at the University of Missouri during the summer session.

E. A. JOHNSON, assistant professor of business administration at McNeese State College, was director-general of the Calcasieu Parish Business Contest Day, held in February in Lake Charles, Louisiana.

LOUIS G. KAHL, associate professor of political science at the University of Missouri, has been granted a leave of absence for the spring semester, 1958, to complete work on a study of United States recognition policy.

ROBERT F. KARSCH, professor of political science at the University of Missouri, had a summer research fellowship to continue work on his study of legislative procedures in Missouri.

OWEN KERN, formerly of Michigan State University, has been appointed instructor in business law at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1957.

ROY D. LAIRD, University of Washington, C.I.A., has accepted a position as assistant professor of political science at the University of Kansas, where he will teach courses in Russian affairs.

PRESTON P. LEBRETON, formerly of the University of Detroit, has been appointed associate professor and head of the Department of Management and Marketing at Louisiana

State University, beginning in September, 1957.

STEPHEN L. McDONALD, formerly with the Division of Economics and Statistics of Humble Oil and Refining Company, has been appointed associate professor and head of the Department of Finance at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1957.

RALPH MIWA, until recently with the United States government, will become assistant professor of political science at the University of Missouri in September, 1957.

MARGARET NEWBERRY, instructor in secretarial science, Louisiana State University, was on sabbatical leave for the summer at New York University, working on a Ph.D. degree.

ARMAND PERRAULT, assistant professor of business administration at McNeese State College, was granted a sabbatical leave for the summer to work on a Ph.D. degree at the University of Texas.

WYLMIA REYNOLDS, associate professor of secretarial science at McNeese State College, has been appointed a member of the Executive Committee of the Louisiana Business Education Teachers Association.

WALTER E. SANDELIUS, professor of political science at the University of Kansas, has been named chairman of Governor George Docking's Commission on Constitutional Revision.

MARTIN SCHNITZER has been promoted to assistant professor, College of Business Administration, University of Arkansas.

JOHN W. SCHWADA, associate professor of political science at the Univer-

sity of Missouri, spent the summer in Jefferson City in a consultative capacity to help establish a new state budget office and new budget procedures.

ALEX J. SIMON has been appointed assistant professor of business management, University of Oklahoma, effective September, 1957.

RHOTEN A. SMITH has been promoted to associate professor of political science at the University of Kansas.

ELIZABETH SORBET has accepted a position as assistant professor of business administration, Mississippi Southern College, beginning in June, 1957.

EDWIN O. STENE, professor of political science, University of Kansas, has been granted a leave of absence to accept appointment as professor of political science, University of the Philippines, for the academic year, 1957-58.

KENNETH M. THOMPSON has accepted a position as lecturer in industrial relations at the University of California in Los Angeles, beginning in September, 1957.

JAMES E. TITUS, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has accepted a position as assistant professor of political science at the University of Kansas, where he will teach courses in public administration.

ROBERT D. TOMASEK, formerly of the University of Michigan, has accepted a position as assistant professor of political science at the University of Kansas, where he will teach courses in Latin-American affairs and international law.



*Economics*

JOSEPH M. BONIN has been appointed instructor in economics at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1957.

ROGER L. BOWLBY has been appointed instructor of economics at Iowa State College.

TROY J. CAULEY, of Indiana University, was visiting associate professor of economics at the University of Texas during the summer.

ALVIN COHEN has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship for study in Chile, 1957-58.

PHOEBUS DHRYMES has been awarded a Woodrow Wilson fellowship for study at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

WILLIAM P. GLAD has been appointed instructor of economics at the University of Maryland.

MICHAEL A. GOMEZ, formerly instructor in economics at Oklahoma State University, has accepted appointment as special instructor of economics at Ohio State University.

MATTHEW H. JONAS has been awarded a Foundation for Economic Education fellowship at Western Electric in New York.

JOHN J. KLEIN has been appointed assistant professor of economics in the School of Business, Oklahoma State University.

ALLEN V. KNEESE, visiting lecturer in economics at the University of New Mexico, has been appointed assistant professor at the University of New Mexico.

HUGH LAW has accepted a position as instructor in economics at California

State Polytechnic College, beginning in September, 1957.

DUDLEY G. LUCKETT has been appointed instructor of economics at Iowa State College, as of January, 1958. He was awarded a Ford predoctoral fellowship for the summer and fall of 1957.

A. RUSSELL MCFARLAND has been appointed to the Economics Department of San Antonio Junior College, Texas.

F. RAY MARSHALL has been appointed associate professor of economics at Louisiana State University, beginning in September, 1957.

FREDERIC MEYERS has returned from a year's leave of absence spent in research in Europe and a semester's teaching at University College, Cardiff, of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

WILLIAM G. MODROW has been appointed assistant professor in the Department of Economics at the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

ERNEST F. PATTERSON has been appointed professor of economics at Davidson College, North Carolina.

JOHN E. PERKINS has been appointed associate professor of economics at Arlington State College, Texas.

MURRAY E. POLAKOFF was awarded a fellowship for the summer by the Social Science Research Council for a Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System Research Program.

ROBERT HANEY SCOTT, during the past year an instructor in the University of Maryland overseas program, has accepted a position as instructor in the Department of Eco-

nomics and Sociology at Kansas State College.

ANSEL M. SHARP has resigned from the University of Cincinnati to accept an appointment as assistant professor of economics, School of Business, Oklahoma State University.

EUGENE L. SWEARINGEN has been promoted to professor of economics and dean of the School of Business at Oklahoma State University.

RAYMOND D. THOMAS has been appointed research professor of economics in the School of Business, Oklahoma State University. He retired as dean of the School of Business on June 30.

EDSEL THRASH, formerly an instructor in economics, Louisiana State University, has accepted a position as director of alumni at Louisiana State University, beginning July 1, 1957.

ROBERT F. VOERTMAN has been appointed assistant professor of economics, Grinnell College (Iowa).

### *Geography*

ARTHUR H. DOERR, associate professor of geography, University of Oklahoma, taught during the summer session at Western Washington College of Education.

JOHN W. MORRIS, professor of geography, University of Oklahoma, taught during the summer session at George Peabody College for Teachers.

Three members from the Department of Geography at the University of Oklahoma contributed to the revised edition of *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press in June, 1957. JOHN W. MORRIS wrote

the chapter "The Natural Setting"; ARTHUR H. DOERR contributed the chapter "Industry and Labor"; and HARRY E. HOY prepared a new relief map of the state, using the physiographic diagram technique.

CAROL YOUNG MASON, associate professor of geography at the University of Tulsa, died November 26, 1956. Although declining health had forced her to take a leave of absence, her sudden passing came as a shock to her many friends in the Southwest.

Dr. Mason was born on January 17, 1902, in Watertown, Massachusetts. She attended Wellesley College, graduating in 1924, and received an M.A. degree from the Graduate School of Geography of Clark University a year later. After teaching at Milwaukee-Downer College in Wisconsin, she returned to Clark as a fellow in geography and took her doctorate in geography in 1936. After further service at Milwaukee-Downer and at Northwest Missouri State College, she came to the University of Tulsa in 1943.

She held membership in the Association of American Geographers, the American Meteorological Society, the National Council of Geography Teachers, and the Southwestern Social Science Association. She traveled and studied in nations in many parts of the world. Titles in her bibliography show her interest in the region in which she was living. Although most of her earlier writing dealt with the Northeast, most of her later work concerned the Southwest. Her last listed article, "The Altus Irrigation Project," was read before the Geography Section of the Southwest Social Science Association and was later

published in *Texas Geographic Magazine*. With the passing of Dr. Mason, the field of geography has lost a valued teacher and a productive scholar.

### *Government*

KENNETH E. BEASLEY has been granted a leave of absence from his duties as assistant director of the Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, to serve as executive director of the Legislative Committee on Efficiency and Economy in Government for the State of Kansas.

MOTHER PATRICIA BARRETT, R.S.C.J., Department of Government, Maryville College of the Sacred Heart, is the author of "Democracy in an Age of Technology" and "The American Political Experience: Alexander Hamilton in Perspective" (*Social Order*, February and September, 1957).

ELMER A. DESHAZO, who received his doctoral degree at the University of Indiana in June, has been appointed instructor in government at Southwest Texas State College.

H. M. GREENE, professor of government at Southwest Texas State College, retired in June, 1957, having served on the faculty since 1923.

JOSEPH HAJDA has been appointed assistant professor of government at Kansas State College, effective September, 1957.

DONALD RHODES, administrative consultant, Governmental Research Center, University of Kansas, has been given a leave of absence to serve on the staff of the Legislative Committee on Efficiency and Economy in Government for the State of Kansas.

The Pan American Union (OAS) and TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE sponsored the fourth conference of the Rocky Mountain Council in April, 1957. More than sixty representatives from twenty-two institutions attended. Founded in 1953 to serve as a medium for the interdisciplinary discussion of problems in teaching Latin-American studies, the council is focusing new emphasis on bringing together the representatives of various fields to acquaint them with specific subjects in their own and other disciplines. Persons interested in the council may contact RAYMOND D. MACK, President, Department of Government, Texas Technological College.

### *History*

LEWIS E. ATHERTON, University of Missouri, has received a grant from the Social Science Research Council for research on the role of the businessman on the American frontier.

STEPHEN BAXTER, formerly at Dartmouth College, will be visiting assistant professor of history, University of Missouri, substituting for CHARLES F. MULLETT.

DONALD J. BERTHRONG, University of Oklahoma, worked in the National Archives during the summer on a book dealing with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians.

DAVID E. CONRAD, formerly of the University of Oklahoma, has been appointed instructor in history at Southwest Texas State College.

RONALD L. DAVIS has been appointed instructor of history at Southwest Texas State College.

SAMUEL DAVIS has been appointed assistant professor of history at Kansas State College for the year 1957-58, to replace WILLIAM P. ZORNOW, on sabbatical leave.

HERBERT J. ELLISON, University of Oklahoma, taught during the summer session at the University of Washington.

COBURN V. GRAVES has resigned as assistant professor of history at Southwest Texas State College to accept a position at Florida State University.

ROBERT C. JOHNSON has resigned as assistant professor of history at accept a position in Temple University.

RODERICK E. MCGREW has received a grant for Slavic and East European Studies from the Social Science Research Council for research on Karamzin's theory of historical causation and its role in the development of Russian conservatism.

CHARLES F. MULLETT will be on leave during the academic year 1957-58 to serve as visiting professor of history on the graduate faculty, Columbia University.

GILMAN OSTRANDER, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed as assistant professor of history, University of Missouri.

DAVID H. PINKNEW, University of Missouri, has been promoted to the rank of professor.

JAMES N. PRIMM, University of Missouri, has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

HANS A. SCHMITT, of the University of Oklahoma, had his Fulbright fellowship extended to include the

summer of 1957. He returns to the University September 1 to complete his study on the European Coal and Steel Community.

A. B. SEARS, University of Oklahoma, conducted a student tour to several European countries during the summer.

ELIZABETH SEYMOUR has been appointed assistant professor of history, Southwest Texas State College.

DANIEL MALLOY SMITH has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Colorado.

LEWIS W. SPITZ, University of Missouri, has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

M. L. WARDELL, research professor of history, University of Oklahoma, died on February 5, 1957. A specialist in Oklahoma and Indian history, he had taught at O.U. since 1925.

IRVIN G. WYLLIE, formerly of the University of Missouri, will become associate professor of history, University of Wisconsin.

### *Sociology*

PAULINE M. BOWERS has been appointed instructor in sociology at Texas Technological College.

MELVIN S. BROOKS has resigned as associate professor of rural sociology at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College to accept a position in the Department of Sociology at Southern Illinois University.

REAGAN BROWN has been added to the rural sociology staff at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College as extension rural sociologist, working particularly in community organization.

CARROL D. CLARK is giving a radio program on the social significance of jazz over radio station KANU, University of Kansas.

WALTER S. CORRIE, JR., was appointed visiting professor of sociology, University of Tulsa, for the year 1957-58.

HENRIETTA COX has joined the staff of the University of Kansas as part-time instructor.

RAYMOND P. CUZZORT, of the University of Chicago Population Research and Training Center, has accepted appointment to the University of Kansas.

WILLIAM DELANEY has resigned from the University of Kansas to accept a position with the United States Information Service in Norway.

E. GORDON ERICKSEN contributed the chapter on population in *The Kansas Basin: Pilot Study of a Watershed*. This study was an interdepartmental effort, sponsored by the University of Kansas and the Ford Foundation.

JOHN GULLHORN and JEAN GULLHORN, of the University of Kansas, are making two cross-cultural studies of students. One is of Fulbright and Smith-Mundt students who have returned from foreign nations; the other is of foreign students at the University of Kansas.

MORTON B. KING, JR., visiting professor of sociology at Southern Methodist University for 1956-57, has accepted a position at Northwestern University.

RUSSELL MIDDLETON has resigned from the Department of Economics and Sociology at Kansas State Col-

lege to accept a position in the Department of Sociology at the University of Florida.

MARSTON MCCLUGGAGE and E. JACKSON BURR, of the University of Kansas, are authors of a monograph *Attitudes of High School Students Toward Alcoholic Beverages*, recently published.

ELWIN H. POWELL, University of Tulsa, and his family are in London, England, where he will carry on postdoctoral studies at the London School of Economics for a year, returning at the end of the year to the University of Tulsa.

DANIEL RUSSELL was granted a leave of absence from Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College for the summer to do organization work in connection with the International Cooperation Administration program in El Salvador.

R. L. SKRABANEK has been promoted to the rank of professor at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, beginning in September, 1957.

WALTER T. WATSON, chairman of the Sociology Department, Southern Methodist University, and his wife toured Europe this summer, returning in September.

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL RURAL CHURCH CONFERENCE was held at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College in June. More than 140 ministers registered for the conference. ARTHUR E. MORGAN, nationally known sociologist in community organization, was guest lecturer.

Among those in the Southwest who are participating in the writing of an introductory sociology text are

FRANZ ADLER, University of Arkansas; HIRAM J. FRIEDSAM, North Texas State College; ALVIN BERT-RAND, Louisiana State University; SANDOR B. KOVACS, HARRY F. SCHLICHTING, ELWIN H. POWELL, and LYLE OWEN, University of Tulsa; and Tilman C. Cothran, Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College (Arkansas).

### *Of General Interest*

The Behavioral Science Division, Air Force Office of Scientific Research, sponsored an eight-week conference and work session at the University of New Mexico from June 17 to August 10, 1957. Persons with demonstrated ability in interdisciplinary research engaged in planning and initiating the first phase of research on problems of long-run importance to the Air Force. About thirty research scientists attended from colleges, universities, and private research organizations, including representatives from the field of psychology, social psychology, sociology, anthropology, physiology, and psychiatry.

Under a grant of \$460,000 from the Carnegie Corporation, ten prominent educators have been named to an advisory commission to work with the Southern Regional Education Board on training for research on problems of higher education. Members are Gordon Blackwell, Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Lloyd Blauch, U.S. Office of Education; John T. Caldwell, University of Arkansas; Henry Chauncey, Educational Testing Service; Harold Emerson, Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education;

Nicholas Hobbs, George Peabody College for Teachers; Charles E. Odegaard, University of Michigan; Truman Pierce, Alabama Polytechnic Institute; Samuel Stauffer, Harvard University; and O. Meredith Wilson, University of Oregon.

The winners of the 1956 Clarke Fisher Ansley Dissertation Awards are Joel Halpern, for "Social and Cultural Change in a Serbian Village"; Daniel G. Hoffman, for "The Poetry of Stephen Crane"; and Burton Watson, for "Ssu-ma Chien: The Historian and His Work." Halpern and Watson are former students of the faculty of political science and Hoffman of the faculty of philosophy, Columbia University. The dissertations will be published by Columbia University Press.

A curriculum leading to a degree of Bachelor of Arts in Latin-American Studies has been organized at the University of Colorado. Information may be obtained from the College of Arts and Sciences.

Fifty prizes of \$500 each are being offered by the Committee for Economic Development for essays on "What is the most important economic problem which the United States must face in the next twenty years?" Papers should not exceed two thousand words and must be submitted by October 31, 1957. The competition is financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

The Ford Foundation, during the 1956 fiscal year, approved grants and appropriations of \$27.1 million for its programs in mental-health research and the behavioral sciences, public



affairs, and economic and business administration. Foundation commitments for all activities during the fiscal period amounted to \$602 million. Details are contained in the foundation's annual report.

A total of \$14 million in grants was approved for mental-health research and other behavioral-science activities. Inauguration of the foundation's mental-health program followed studies which showed that although half the hospital beds in the United States are occupied by mental patients, the amount spent on research, in relation to medical research generally, is disproportionately small. Accordingly, in 1955, the foundation appropriated \$15 million for a program of mental-health research.

Grants totaling \$6,300,000 were approved for projects designed to improve government processes, develop public leadership, and encourage public understanding of, and participation in, public affairs. Another \$6,800,000 was granted to advance research and training in business administration and economics, and to improve public understanding, here and abroad, of the American economic system.

W. Harold Loper has become chief of UNESCO's Department of Education. He served in the school system of Hawaii for thirty years and has also served in the Philippines. A new ten-year "major project" will be the extension of primary education in Latin America, where it is estimated some 14,000,000 children have no access to educational facilities.

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY has announced the opening of the Heartman Negro Collection. The collection contains miscellaneous materials ranging from curios to documents, dated from 1600 to 1955. They deal with Negroes in all parts of the world where they have lived in communities. There are approximately 15,000 items in the collection, of which more than 6,000 are books. A mimeographed catalog of the material is available.

An eighteen-nation advisory committee on UNESCO's ten-year "major project" to develop greater mutual understanding of Asian and Western Cultural values has been organized and held its first meeting in Paris. Paul J. Braisted, president of the Hazen Foundation, is the American representative.

Eight fellowships in oceanography have been announced by UNESCO for 1957-58. They are available to qualified scientists for work in marine research at recognized institutions and are not to exceed twelve months.

Alfredo Villegas has been named director of the newly created division of "Biblioteca y Publicaciones" of the Argentinian Archivo General de la Nación. The archives have recently acquired the library of the noted historian Ernesto H. Celesia, with its important collections of early pamphlets and periodicals and some 30,000 volumes on the history of the Rio de la Plata. This expansion of the Archivo General makes it an important center for study of Argentina and America generally.



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